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S T R I C T U R E S
O N T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL AND LITERARY
HISTORY OF IRELAND:
FROM THE
MOST ANCIENT TIMES
TILL THE
INTRODUCTION OF THE ROMAN RITUAL,
AND THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF PAPAL SUPREMACY,
B Y
HENRY II. KING OF ENGLAND.

“AN ample discourse upon the original of the Irish, and the antiquity of that people, whom in truth I think to be more ancient than most I know in this end of the world, so as it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement and plentiful reading, would be most pleasant and profitable.”

SPENCER.

“THERE is at this day no monument or real argument that, when the Irish were first invaded, they had any stone housing at all, any money, any foreign trade, nor any learning but the legend of the fairs, psalter, missals, rituals, &c. viz. nor geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, enginery, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture, nor the least use of navigation, or the art military.”

SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

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S T R I C T U R E S
O N T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL AND LITERARY
HISTORY OF IRELAND:
F R O M T H E
M O S T A N C I E N T T I M E S

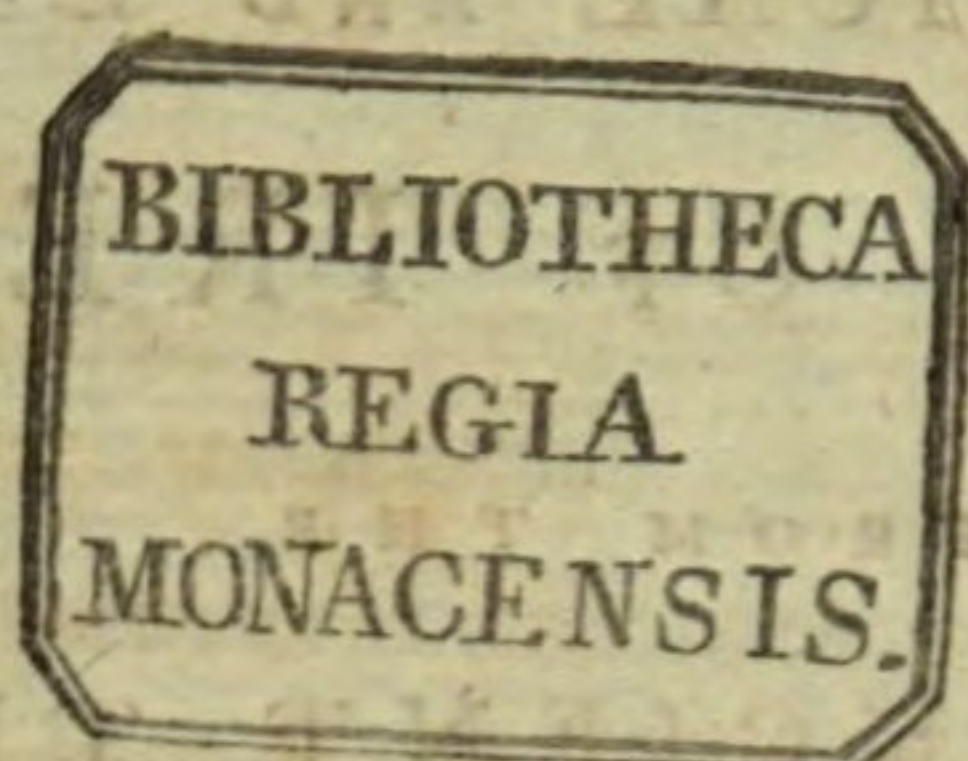
T I L L T H E
Introduction of the ROMAN RITUAL, and the Establishment
of PAPAL SUPREMACY, by HENRY II. King of England.

A L S O , A N
H I S T O R I C A L S K E T C H
O F T H E
C O N S T I T U T I O N A N D G O V E R N M E N T
O F
I R E L A N D,
FROM THE MOST EARLY AUTHENTICATED PERIOD DOWN TO
THE YEAR 1783.

By THOMAS CAMPBELL, L.L.D.
CHANCELLOR OF ST. MACARTIN'S, CLOGHER,

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW,
LONDON.

M,DCC,XC.



*“ Non enim tam AUTORITATES in disputando quam RATIONIS mo-
mento quærenda sunt.”*

CICERO.

*“ Duo sunt instrumenta ad res omnes aut confirmandas aut impugnan-
das RATIO & AUTORITAS. Verum in hoc ANTIQUITATUM studio
plurimum potest AUTORITAS; & rerum præteritarum scientia non
RATIONUM momento sed SCRIPTORUM AUTORITATE solidissime cor-
roboratur.”*

CAMDEN.

By THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:

Printed by C. and J. ROBINSON, Stationers, Strand.

LONDON.

MDCCLXX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AN Edition of this Work having been nearly sold in Ireland, the Author has thought that it might not be improper to submit it to the curious inquirer in England. Sorry that it cannot appear more worthy of perusal, he expects indulgence for literal errors, which no precaution, at his distance from the press, could obviate. But in point of composition, how can *he* hope to escape censure, who, upon review, condemns himself? For he now spies out blemishes which at first he could not see. But, whilst he confesses what he feels it too late to correct, he conceives that he has something to plead in extenuation.

Having long witnessed, with considerable pain, the extravagance of certain modern writers, respecting Irish Antiquities, and wishing to disentangle them from those fables, which are so industriously defended, he has only aimed at bringing forward genuine historic arguments, plain and unadorned; the result of a sanguine love of truth, and of some years spent in no very indolent research, during his intervals from more important concerns.

Our Milesian Tales, which have been elevated to the rank of history, might, perhaps, have been listened to in ages of ignorance; but they are now, like ghosts and goblins, fit only to be associated with darkness. The most polished nations, having long since rejected the fables of their bards and legends of their monks, can no longer be imposed upon by vain etymologies, and the arbitrary construction of certain passages in old psalters and annals, which are, after all, but the babbling echoes of vulgar and uncertain traditions.

traditions. And now, in this age of illumination, at the very moment when the European world is struggling to deliver itself from the shackles of despotism, and seems willing to sacrifice its once darling superstitions at the shrine of Freedom, can it be altogether unseasonable to present, as a small offering on the same altar, the relicks of fiction and falsehood?

If this work can answer no other purpose, the reception it has met with in Ireland may, at least, serve to shew, that the whole nation is not intoxicated with heroical romance, and traditional nonsense; whilst it may inspire a hope that the body of the people, however prepossessed, may at length open their eyes to the light of reason; and that a time may come, when, yielding to the force of evidence, they may abandon the belief, that opinions are therefore right, because they have been long received.

And if, under these impressions, the writer may have been led into frequent and long digressions upon controversial questions, he trusts that the reader will, without much difficulty, discern, that those digressions seldom lose sight of the main design, and that they were necessary to establish particular positions. But to those who deem a more exact arrangement indispensable, he can only say, (what the title page has already said) that a history, whether ecclesiastical or literary, is not here attempted; the writer only offers certain strictures upon it: for if a regular chain of events, touching the church of Ireland during that period on which he has discoursed, could have been produced, he freely owns that it surpassed his abilities to form it.

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* N. B. Since this article was printed, the Song beginning with these words, *Fade teil thee zo lournagh*, &c. which is published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, and there said to be handed down, by tradition, from the twelfth century, has been produced to Henry Archer, of Ballyfeshin, Esquire, in the barony of Bargy, by father Peter Devereux, in the hand-writing of his uncle, father William Devereux, whom he certifies to be the original Author of the said Song, and of several others in the same dialect; of which he has produced the copies, all in his uncle's hand-writing.

And it is further to be observed, that, since the publication of this book, Mr. Clement Archer (whose authority is cited page 312) produced to the writer, the attestations of some gentlemen of the county of Wexford, that they never heard the Song, alluded to, ascribed to any other Author than father Devereux. Above all, he produced a certificate of an old servant of the priest, declaring (what he therein proposes, if required, to swear) that his master (who used to rehearse to him his several compositions) has repeated to him several verses, which he, from time to time, added to the aforesaid Song, till it grew to the size exhibited in the priest's original manuscript; and which, upon collation, appears to be the same with that published in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

(37)

E R R A T A.

- Page 3, line 6, for *hopless*, read *hopeless*.
11, 15, for *caste*, read *castle*.
17, 21, for *repeta*, read *repetita*.
112, 10, for *the*, read *their*.
254, 10, for *distinguished*, read *distinguish*.
323, 14, for *was*, read *were*.
338, 5, blot out *to*.
336, 13, for *thought fit*, read *it thought fit*.
411, last line but one, for *establisbing*, read *abolishing*.

And, as there may be others, which have escaped notice,
the reader is requested to pardon them.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
EDMUND BURKE.

WHEN I communicated to you my intention of setting forth a History of the Revolutions of Ireland, from the most early to the present period, your advice was to touch as lightly as possible upon the times preceding the invasion from England. This accorded nearly with my own idea: for it being the destination of that work to unfold the several political causes, which have hitherto counteracted our natural advantages, I wished to execute it in the most concise and striking manner, by exhibiting rather the spirit than the letter of our melancholy record, without entangling either myself or my reader with disputed questions of antiquity, which, be they disposed of whatever way they may, are not essential to our main design.

But the interval between the legation of St. Patrick, and the domination of Henry II.—during which Ireland is known to have been the seat of piety and learning,—is a period peculiarly interesting to all those who are curious either in the original of nations, or in the revolutions of a people certainly ancient and traditionally illustrious. So fully penetrated was Dr. Johnson with this opinion, that in a letter which I conveyed from him to Mr. O'Connor, in the year 1777, he thus expresses himself: “ Dr. Leland begins his history too late. The
“ ages which deserve an exact enquiry, are those
B “ times

“ times (if such times there were) when Ireland
 “ was the school of the West, the quiet habita-
 “ tion of sanctity and literature. If you could give
 “ a history, though imperfect, of the Irish nation,
 “ from its conversion to Christianity, to the invasion
 “ from England, you would amplify knowledge with
 “ new views and new objects. Set about it therefore
 “ if you can. Do what you can easily do, without
 “ anxious exactness. Lay the foundation, and
 “ leave the superstructure to posterity.”

This plan has not been followed by the writer to whom it was recommended, nor by any other to my knowledge. For our modern antiquaries, despising so late an illumination of their country, as the introduction of the Christian religion, and the Latin alphabet by St. Patrick, make an excursion of near two thousand years before this epoch †; during which the Milesian Monarchy is represented as one of the most renowned upon earth, flourishing in all those arts and sciences which embellish society, and dignify human nature: It therefore behoved to remove popular prejudices on this subject; for before we convince, we must undeceive. But whatever belonged to the antiquities was, nevertheless, confined to a preliminary analysis.

Your conversation, however, determined me to retrench even what I had written. Accordingly, soon after my return from your *Tusculum*, I set about separating the ecclesiastical and literary matter from what was merely civil and political, and thus

† Hæc insula, amplissimum quondam regum theatrum, reges absolutos, 136 Ethnicos & 48 Christianos, ad annum a partu Virginis 1022, per annos 2314, supremo sceptro insignivit.

O Flaherty, p. 27.

O'Neal of Ulster writes thus to the Pope of Rome, John XXII. *Sciat paternitas vestra veneranda, quod præter reges minoris Scotiæ, qui omnes de nostra majore Scotia originem sumpserunt (linguam nostram in conditiones quodammodo retinentes) reges de sanguine nostro centum nonaginta septem in tota Hiberniæ insula regnaverant.*

See Usher, p. 378.

thus has the former assumed its present shape ; but not without the assistance of that large collection of MSS. which you put me in possession of, the summer before last. And suffer me now to make this public acknowledgment of that, to me, invaluable obligation ; hopeless of its being altogether imputed to gratitude, whilst I am willing to confess, that it is not unmixed with vanity.

If, by simplifying my original plan, these sheets shall in any degree supply what our learned friend considered as a *desideratum* in Irish literature, they are indebted to you for the hint. In one respect, I fear, they will too nearly answer what he expected ; for without *anxious exactness* they will unavoidably betray all that imperfection to which he gave such a latitude ; but they can scarcely amplify knowledge, because they cannot furnish new objects, and they only aspire at giving new views of such as are old. A lens does not create the rays of light, it only collects them. And such only are here selected as may bear upon our subject with the strongest effect.

To others we leave the field of fiction, where the gleanings of a thousand years have only accumulated evidences to prove a millennium of poverty. And, therefore, Sir William Temple complained that Ireland was less known than any other country, as to its ancient state. How far the genealogies and etymologies of the antiquaries, since his time, have promoted that knowledge, let others decide ; for they surpass my comprehension. The zeal of these writers, for their country's glory, may perhaps be equal to mine, but certainly it is not founded upon the same views of society in general, nor of that of Ireland in particular. I am free to own myself not altogether insensible to a certain degree of credit, which may be reflected from the ancient celebrity of my native country ; and therefore I wished to redeem her from the imputation of reposing her head upon tradition alone.

Under this impression I have now laboured to ascertain the fact, beyond the cavil of scepticism, that there was a time (of which Dr. Johnson doubted) when IRELAND WAS THE SCHOOL OF THE WEST. But well aware that this high character now stands but as the shadow of a name; I do not support her title to that name, by declaiming on the literature and renown of pagan philosophers and kings. I found her trophies on a more solid basis. I give memoirs, short but authentic, of such worthies as have risen above the standard of their times, and produce specimens, not contemptible, of their writings, during the four or five first centuries of the middle age*; that learned candour may be freed from toil in forming an estimate of the pristine state of religion, manners, letters and taste in this country.

We may be allowed, upon this occasion, to use the words of Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, an hero of a very fabulous age: "Permit us to take
 " from fable her extravagance, make her yield
 " to truth, and accept the form of history. But
 " where she obstinately despises probability, and
 " refuses to mix with what is credible, we must im-
 " plore the candour of our readers and their kind
 " indulgence for the tales of antiquity."

Before I proceed further, it must not be concealed, that after separating (as has been observed) the ecclesiastical from the civil history, the former was, last spring, published in a periodical paper, under the signature of IERNEUS; an awkward vehicle, I must confess, for such matter. It served, however, to convey to me the sentiments of the public mind, in such a manner as emboldens me to republish in a more connected and, perhaps, more permanent, form: especially as the doing so meets the earnest wishes of one, so highly distinguished for literature

* That space, of about 1000 years, between the fall of the Western and that of the Eastern empire, is what I call the *middle age*.

literature and taste, that his approbation alone should be a sufficient *imprimatur*. It was, also, a satisfaction to find that those gentlemen, who had been the associates of Colonel Vallancey, in writing the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, departed from him and published, in the same paper, a long series of letters addressed to IERNEUS, all confirmative of his opinions respecting Irish antiquities, and reprobating all along certain etymological conclusions of the Colonel's, which *Ierneus* was not glossologist enough to understand.

But what I am most bounden to observe to you is, that during the course of those publications, a friend of the Colonel's, with a warmth of zeal very disproportionate to the coldness of the subject, took up the pen, and seemed to rest his defence on a letter from the author of the *sublime and beautiful*. From such authority *Ierneus* could not think of appealing; but he did not think that the scope of that letter went so directly to the Colonel's vindication as his friend supposed. And if, by paraphrasing part of it, and commenting upon the rest, he has forced its language to speak a sense different from what it can bear, he now solicits pardon for the liberty he has taken.

MARCH 17, 1789.

IS E C T.

S E C T. I.

THE origin of nations has been generally one of the first subjects of investigation, after the twilight between intellectual darkness and illumination is over, and the public mind is awake to literary curiosity. Contentions have, of course, arisen about antiquity, at different times, in almost every part of the world, and have been conducted with a degree of zeal, very disproportioned to the importance of the subject. But as larger measures of information have been distributed to any nation, in the same proportion has this national vanity subsided, because the glory of an illustrious origin can be of little value, even if it could be proved: but instead of proof, the most diligent enquiries generally terminate in downright ignorance of the matter, or in a nest of pirates, or a band of free-booters, or the hut of the barbarian, or the forest of the savage. Instead then of exploring the footsteps of our ancestors, in the most imperfect state of society, we should rather hasten to cover the nakedness of our fathers.

The first historians were all poets, because verse assisted the memory; and memory alone recorded the verse. But recollection soon fails, and tradition but ill conveys the frail memorial of past events. Letters give permanency to verse, but as long as fact is at the discretion of poetry, not even writing can redeem the history of ancient times from the imputation of fabulous. Our metrical histories, though MSS. and preserved with care, are at best but rude monuments; yet, rude though they be, they discover a considerable advancement in the
arts

arts of life. And if the movements of the human mind towards social refinement can be successfully traced, the pursuit may become interesting. An attempt, therefore, to illustrate the early state of letters and religion in Ireland, cannot be altogether useless; and may be, at least to its natives, entertaining.

To substantiate our claim to a very remote antiquity, some writers think it sufficient if they discover a similitude between some present Irish custom, or remain of rude art, and those of ancient Gaul, Greece, Persia, Phœnicia, or other countries celebrated in story: not considering, that they, in so doing, only adduce arguments for the ancient rudeness of those countries, not for the refinement of their own. For rude monuments and customs, be they found where they may, are the most indelible tests of the rudeness of the times in which they were erected, or used. If they would evince the refinement of Ireland from its conformity to those countries of *quondam* refinement, they should point out the vestiges of either ancient magnitude or elegance in the works of this country.

If then we are to be for ever collecting the beggarly elements of rude monuments, the rudest upon which the penury of language is obliged to bestow the name of art; our pursuit is puerile, nay childish indeed. If the most civilized countries on earth have still such remains, this only proves that they once were barbarous, else such monuments would not have been erected. For if such things could establish antiquity, then all countries, which possess them, would be equally ancient; and we read of scarce any without them. If antiquity means any thing honourable to any nation, it must mean that, that nation has been for a long period of time removed from the infantine state of society in which those rude monuments were produced. The pursuit of antiquity should go no farther than it is connected

ned with higher efforts of art, and less equivocal symptoms of nascent civilization. All beyond are seas of glass, and ships of amber.

It is no shame for any nation to have been once barbarous *; all nations in Europe have been so, because they once were young, and like young children, they had nothing worth recording, and like them too, in another respect, they would have been incapable of recording them, even if they were worth notice. Upon this ground the intrinsic glory of Ireland is more firmly established, by considering it as a *new*, than as an *old*, nation. For if her sons were once so accomplished, they must now confess themselves to have degenerated. If Pagan Ireland was the nurse of heroes and philosophers, is it not the greater reproach to Christian Ireland that she has for so many ages groaned in servitude and groped in ignorance? It must, upon a dispassionate estimate, do most credit to this country to be considered as an infant state, emerging from ignorance and barbarism, like Hercules arising from his cradle, and like him too labouring under a hard taskmaster.

For suppose that our *Ogygian* writers could trace up their genealogy to Japhet †, and could prove that

* It is here, on setting out, observed, that if the epithet *barbarous*, by its application to our ancestors, should offend any description of the Irish nation, I should be exceedingly sorry to incur their censure; I should be glad to deprecate it by every acknowledgment consistent with truth. And therefore I beg of them to observe, that this epithet is never used as expressive of any particular disposition of mind, but only as relative to manners; and no other word could be thought of so much in use, and so fit to characterise a certain stage of advancement, in the progress of society, from its infancy of savageness and rudeness to its maturity of civility and refinement.

† Yet does not the attempt carry self-rebuke on the very face of it? Does it not betray the novelty of the system? Does it not prove that it was invented after the introduction of Christianity?

that they knew their letters before any nation in Europe, then *Spencer's* question will return "*if such old scholars, why so unlearned still?*" Suppose also, that it could be true, what is asserted, that our ancestors extended their conquests in Britain, and to the Alps; then let it be asked, after raising this vision of ancient prowess, does it redound to the true glory of this country, that in the most early times, concerning which no two writers agree, our ancestors were so potent; but that in those less remote, of which there is no doubt, they were the trodden slaves of Danes and Norwegians? Would not the Irish, if a civilized people, have been the veriest dastards upon earth to suffer such indignities, as they confess they did, from the *Turgesian* crew? And if it be argued, that they regained their ancient greatness and splendor, by the expulsion of the Danes, yet what must that greatness and splendor have been, which, almost without a blow, submitted to *English* domination?

That state, whatever it may be called, in which Henry Plantagenet found Ireland, and which rendered her numerous chieftains so pliable to his will, that most English writers call *their submission to him a conquest of the kingdom*, is alone sufficient to evince the infancy both of civil and military arts among the Irish at that period. But are the English a less respectable nation at this day, because a mixed breed of Britons, Saxons, Danes and Normans? or, because Cæsar found the natives a set of barbarians, if not savages, whose only covering was the skins of beasts, who painted their faces blue, that they might look terrible in battle; and were as ignorant of their origin, as the Mohawks or Cherokees. It would only argue imperfect civilization in us, the posterity, to be scandalized at the imputed barbarism of our forefathers.

Yet,

Yet, says Mr. O'Connor *, our writers “naturally turn their thoughts from the misery of their country in their own days to its prosperity in better.” But when were the days better? Be they, however, better or worse now, this is not a time for superstition to adore the departed spirits of traditional songs and legendary tales. The eighteenth is not the century for supporting figments, which posterity only pardons because they are the productions of the darkest periods of the middle age.

How long are we to continue the scoff and scorn of the learned world †, for persisting in details as destitute

* Preface to *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 8.

† “Ireland remains to this day superstitiously devoted to her ancient history, fullenly turns away from the light of reformation that is spread over the neighbouring island, and wraps herself in the gloom of her own legendary annals.” Whitaker’s *History of the Britons*, p. 3.

In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undermine, with respectful scepticism, the romance of Brutus the Trojan, who is now buried in silent oblivion, with *Scotia*, the daughter of Pharaoh and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that some champions of the *Milesian colony* may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people dissatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any vision of their past or future glory. Gibbon’s *Decline*, &c. vol. iv. p. 161.

No foreigner, however, reprobates this vain humour (*of extending antiquity beyond the truth*) more severely than our countryman Bishop Berkley. Alluding to the Scotch and Welsh, he observes it to be most prevalent among those dependent and subdued people, who have little else to boast of:—“To pass over others of our fellow-subjects (continues he) who, in proportion as they are below their neighbours in wealth and power, lay claim to a more remote antiquity, are not the pretensions of Irishmen in this way known to be very great? If I may trust my memory, O’Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, mentions some transactions in Ireland before the flood.”

I cannot, however, agree with the ingenious author of the *Minute Philosopher*, that this humour is peculiar to dependent countries; it seems rather peculiar to a certain degree of illumination in all nations, and that degree seems to have been obtained sometime after the spread of literature from one country into another;

destitute of the entertainment of fable, as of the instruction of truth. Let it be acknowledged that our country can produce no competent evidence of an early civilization, no monument of the fine arts, no specimen of extraordinary skill in composition. For what are the works of Columba, or any of our most famous monks, if compared to the writings which have dignified the classic names? They shine as glow-worm lights in darkness, but their splendor is lost to the lustre of a luminous age. If Greece, if Italy, if Sicily, if Egypt, and the countries of Asia, once so accomplished, be now overspread with rusticity and barbarism, we can, nevertheless, have no doubt of their ancient celebrity. The ruinous castle, the sloping tower, the deserted temple, the mouldering arch, the capacious theatre, the depopulated town, the subterraneous city, the immortal pyramids, all, all impress upon our minds the awful certainty of pristine elegance and recorded magnificence. *Quocunque ingredimur in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.*

In Ireland the most diligent investigation finds no remain more noble than the *Round Tower*, an object

another; when men begin to write, after reading enough to know something, but not enough to know much. I know not what name to give this stage of advancement; for it is neither ignorance nor knowledge, but something between both. But call it what you will, the history of all ancient nations is one proof that such a stage of society has existed among them. The Athenians wore the grasshopper on their arms, as being emblematic that they sprung from the very soil which they inhabited. It was the boast of the Arcadians (I think) that they were not only coeval with the earth, but prior to the moon. Rome was founded by two bastards of Mars; and what country did not owe its origin to the amour of some God? Nations, like individuals, are proud of their genealogy. The French have forged their Francus, the Danes their Danus, the Goths their Gothus, and the Saxons their Saxo. The first poem, any thing like an Epic, which appeared in France, was (by Master Eustace, A. D. 1137) on the subject of Brutus arriving in Britain. *Sed nunc non erat his locus.*

ject more lean and meagre than the Gothic pillar; and none more ancient than the *Carn*, the *Tumulus*, the *Cromliagh*, and the *Druid temple*; all dreary monuments of barbarous superstition. As to the *Raths*, history confirms the report of tradition, in their being raised, by the lordly *Danes*, as fortresses to curb the subject Irish. For it has been, at all times, the barbarous policy of the Lords of Ireland to govern it upon the most sordid maxims: maxims which have hitherto kept down a brave, a generous, an ingenious people, from rising to those attainments, of which their natural endowments are so capable, whenever they have fallen into their proper sphere of exertion.

An epitome of the civil history of ancient Ireland is briefly this: Divided and subdivided into a multiplicity of petty states, connected together by no bond of political union, cemented by no sense of common interest; each little community was to itself the centre and circumference of all its regards and all its attachments. With perhaps greater animosity towards their neighbour than their national enemy, they resisted separately, and were separately defeated. So that the observation of Tacitus is as applicable to them as to the people who gave occasion to it. *Dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur.*

From the fifth century to the twelfth, our ecclesiastical history is of some importance; far more, certainly, than the civil. For the year 432 commences a new æra, a revolution in religion, and the introduction of the Latin letters by St. Patrick. After whom a succession of pious and learned men, for those times, arose, who gave great celebrity to their country, for the four following centuries; during which, polite and solid literature languished in almost every other corner of Europe. After Rome had been again and again plundered by the Goths and Huns, they ceased to speak Latin even in Rome itself.

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In such times, the contemplative and religious found a peaceful and hospitable asylum in those schools and monasteries, which then became frequent in this country, and which even the ruffian hands of barbarous spoilers preserved inviolate; for religious zeal has, at every period, been a striking feature in the Irish character. Then it was that, as Bede remarks, Ireland became the mart of literature; and then it was that, as Usher, from his immensity of erudition, decides the point, Ireland so universally and so deservedly obtained the title of the ISLAND OF SAINTS in every quarter of the globe. *Operam vero, a B. Patricio hic positam, ita illi secundam evenisse est notatum; ut HIBERNIA speciali nomine INSULA SANCTORUM ubique terrarum jure nominaretur.*

But this is an honour of a date too modern to satisfy Mr. O'Halloran. He will have it, that his dear country was called the Island of Saints before Saints were in existence. The very title of one of his chapters is: *The name of the island of Saints bestowed on Ireland prior to christianity.* And so full is he of the newness of this discovery, that he begins his chapter, on this article, in the stile of injured innocence: "It has been said, for what will
 " not be said—that it was from the admission and
 " cultivation of Christianity that Ireland, by uni-
 " versal consent, acquired the glorious title of in-
 " sula sanctorum & doctorum: but the smallest
 " degree of reflection will expose the futility of
 " the supposition." Now, among all the degrees of Mr. O'Halloran's reflections upon this head, it is not the lowest; "That Asser (in his life of Al-
 " fred) complains, that from the Humber to the
 " Thames, there was not a priest that understood
 " the liturgy in the mother tongue, and that from
 " the Thames to the sea, there was not one able
 " to translate the easiest piece of Latin. It is ma-
 " nifest then, that the great reputation Ireland
 " acquired

“acquired in letters, could not take its rise from the christian system.”

After this so logical conclusion, it would be like following an *ignis fatuus* to pursue his other reflections, through so much incoherent and desultory declamation. His error originates from confounding epithets applied to Ireland at different periods. The most ancient Irish called their country Erin, or Eire, or Iere; which word imports a western country, and by this name it was called by the old Greek geographers. But Festus Avienus, by mistake, translates IERE into *Sacra*; and good Mr. O'Halloran saw no difference between *sacra* and *sancta*.

Myself so prone to mistakes, it is not without painful reluctance that I thus take upon me to censure systematic error. But it would be paying this enlightened age a sorry compliment to resort to scepticism, in order to overturn such baseless fabrics: and it would be highly disrespectful to this country to suspect that it can longer bear with the puerilities of fiction, however buttressed by the many volumes of late written *: the jut of which is to support a fabulous monarchy for near two thousand years

* Among the books on the Antiquity and History of Ireland, published within about forty years, are the following:

History of the Druids, by Toland, 8vo. 1747.

Histoire d'Irlande, by l'Abbe Geoghegan, 4to. 1758.

History of Ireland, by Dr. Warner, 4to. 1763.

Dissertations on ditto, by C. O'Connor, Esq; 2d edit. 8vo. 1766.

Remains of Japhet, by Dr. Parsons, 4to. 1767.

History of Ireland, by Wynne, 2 tom. 8vo. 1772.

Antiquities of ditto, by O'Halloran, 4to. 1772.

History of ditto, by ditto, 2 tom. 4to.

History of ditto, by Dr. Leland, 3 tom. 4to. 1773.

O'Flaherty's Ogygia vindicated, by O'Connor, 8vo. 1775.

Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, 4 tom. 8vo. from 1770 to 1788. By Colonel Vallancey and others.

History of Ireland, by Dr. Crawford, 2 tom. 8vo. 1783.

Monasticon Hibernicum, by Mr. Archdall, 4to. 1786.

Memoirs of Irish Bards, by Mr. Walker, 4to. 1786.

Historical Essay on the Dresses of the Irish, by ditto, 4to. 1788.

years of paganism; during which each genealogy is very *consistently* deduced from one of the son's of Noah.

Our most ancient historians, the bards and the monks, dwell longest on the most unknown periods, because they afford the widest field for fiction. But as the oldest of these flourished in the tenth century, a picture of that century, with altered names under it, is foisted upon us as a representation of all that go before.

The same may be said, with due allowance, of the productions of much later periods. The artless authors have wrote rather what they saw and felt, than what they heard and read. Whilst they vary a few unimportant circumstances of what they would put off as HISTORY, they betray their own sentiments and opinions; and, when they talk of old times, give an exact copy of modern manners.

So that whilst they dream of impressing us with favourable ideas of their ancestors, they leave indelible marks of their own rudeness and of the benighted ages in which they lived. Yet far be it from me to deny that they have their use: They all conspire to verify the observation: *nullum librum tam malum esse qui non ex aliqua parte profit.* Their very contradictions of all who had written before them, of each other and of themselves, betray those very antiquities, of which each, in his turn, most complacently delivers a most incontrovertible system.

But they complain that entire credit is not given to their own accounts of their own country. The author to whom I have so lately alluded asserts, "that no nation under heaven has been so traduced as the *Irish Nation*," and expresses keen resentment against Mr. *Molyneux* for having said, "that he did not believe a single word of the learned Mr. *O'Flaherty's Ogygia* then newly published*." And
in

* It would have been strange indeed if Mr. *Molyneux* had given more credit to the *Ogygia* than the author himself, who candidly
owns

in a stile suited to the dignity of his subject, gives a copious declamation upon the literature, elegance and magnificence of his Pagan progenitors. “Convinced, says he, that our ancestors came here a great and a polished people, I expected from our records every proof of it, and was not disappointed. Literary foundations, for the instruction of foreign as well as their own youth, shewed them indeed a learned nation, but their attention to every other useful object, proved them a great and a wise state. Not even at this day in China is agriculture carried to a higher pitch than formerly among the Irish.”—He then goes on to relate their renowned exploits both abroad and at home—their landing in Greece and instructing the natives, their conquests in Britain and Gaul—their success against the Romans; whose Emperors they stile in some old manuscripts, *Kings of all the world, IRELAND excepted*: A circumstance expressive at once of the civilized understandings and the independent spirit of our forefathers. “The palaces of our ancient kings, continues he, were highly celebrated for their magnificence and the *taste of their decorations*—and the triennial meetings at *Tara* were uncommonly splendid. The Monarch or EMPEROR sat in the royal banqueting house, on his throne, his crown on his head, and his sceptre in his hand, with his face to the West. The provincial kings were also seated on thrones.—The nobility, clergy and *literati* took place according to their rank; and this was settled with a precision that would do honour to the politest nations of the world. —The

owns that he does not vouch for the truth of what is handed down to posterity: *fidem in me non recipio*. Hoc tantum astruo, non firmioribus nixas fundamentis primas aliarum gentium antiquitates, quibus tamen *penes scriptorum SUORUM traditiones* inoffenso pede currere licitum est. Proinde, ubi disquisitioni locus non datur, communia patriæ scriptorum suffragia locum habeant. In quorum ego sententiam senator eo pedarius. O’Flaherty, p. 162.

“ —The days of *Cormac* were those of the greatest
 “ glory — in his time most of the utensils of the
 “ court were of pure gold or silver: When he dined
 “ in state, he was waited upon by 150 of the most
 “ distinguished gentlemen of the kingdom—besides
 “ one thousand men to guard his palace *—and on
 “ his side-board were 150 cups of massy gold and
 “ silver.—We may form some idea of the munifi-
 “ cence, *truly royal*, which prevailed at *Tara* from
 “ the consumption of the *provincial* palace of *Brien*
 “ *Boru*, viz. 2670 beeves, 1370 hogs, 365 pipes of
 “ red and 150 hogheads of other wine.”

He gives next a detail of the hereditary crown officers, the hereditary marshals, the hereditary treasurers, the royal cup-bearer, and the hereditary *Admirals*. The same judicious historian exposes the *absurdity* of supposing our maritime towns to have been built by the Danes, commends the taste of the ancient Irish for architecture; and after expatiating on that of *Tara*, the royal residence of the Monarchs, built by *Ollan Fodla* 2500 years ago, and on that of *Emania* †, the palace of
 C Ultonian

* Yet Mr. O'Connor tells us expressly, “ that the Irish monarchs had no guards about their persons: They trusted to their domestic servants.” *Dissert.* p. 46.

† *O'Flaherty* is punctual in dating the foundation of *Emania* by *Kimbath A. M.* 3596. And Mr. O'Connor (*Dissert.* p. 107) dates the burning of it “ in the year of our redemption 332, after it had stood more than 600 years, affording, through that long period, such examples of splendor, greatness and œconomy, as do honour not only to the *Rudrician*, but the whole *Milesian* race.” The same accurate writer (p. 90.) tells us that “ expert artists were made *freeborn*, and that few northern nations excelled the Scots in *lignarian* architecture.” We must then suppose this castle of *Emania*, which, after *Teamor*, he produces as the chief instance of architectural magnificence among the ancient Scots, was of this species: especially when we reflect that it stood but a little more than 600 years before it was burned down; and above all, that *Colgan* is cited to shew that its ruins were visible in his time, and that *O'Flaherty* preserves these ruins to the 17th century;

Ultonian kings, he concludes with this unanswerable argument *ad verecundiam*: "And sure no one will doubt, but that they who built the city of Branza" ganza

century; *vestigis murorum eminentibus & ruderibus pristinam etiamnum redolet splendorem.* Ogygia, p. 258.

Now, though every reader of discernment must be persuaded, from a view of the state of society in Ireland in those times, that such edifices have no foundation but in assertion, I shall, for once, *interpose my own observation*, for which I should not expect universal credit (as in this case assertion clashes with assertion) were not what I am going to advance, not only open to every view, but confirmed by Mr. O'Connor himself.

However, I have more than once examined the hill of Tarah, the fabled site of all this architectonic taste, princely splendor, and royal magnificence; but it requires little attention to be convinced, that there never was a castle of stone and lime on that hill. There are, indeed, some five or six circular intrenchments like the Danish forts, upon it; in which, I suppose, the monarch and his vassal kings might either have pitched their tents, or have erected temporary halls (like that erected for Henry II. in Dublin) for their rude entertainment at their triennial FES or feast, ridiculously stiled parliament.

I have also examined the site of the famed castle of Emania, the renowned palace of Ultonian kings. And here I found a single intrenchment, in the circular form also, but much larger (if I remember right) than any single one at Tara. I am sorry I did not take the exact dimensions of either, or any of them. But a long interval elapsed between the times of my viewing them, and I had then no other purpose than that of gratifying my private curiosity: And giving the dimensions would be of little use; they are ruins that will not moulder, like other works of art; they will long remain, in high preservation, not a monument of the civilization and refinement attributed to the court of Emania, but of the shocking barbarism which disfigured those times, and that place. Witness the prime favourite of the bards, Concovar Mac Nessa, emphatically so called from his criminal commerce with his own mother Nessa! A perfidious savage, stained with almost every vice that could degrade and disgrace human nature. Yet Mr. O'Connor would persuade us that he was "a prince, whose heroic actions and patronage of the sciences made amends to the public for great *personal failings*." Dessert. p. 120.

This Emania, where the ruins of the wooden castle are said to have remained till the 17th century, lies about a mile west of Armagh, on the right hand of the road leading to Tynan, near the

“ ganza in Spain, and whose forefathers resided so long in Egypt, must have acquired some knowledge in architecture.”

C 2

After

the *Bull's Track*: A place so called from a stone, which, when a boy, I have seen in the centre of the road, with a hole in it, not unlike the impression of a bull's foot; which, tradition said, was made by a bull leaping off the church of Armagh. The bull, it seems, used to throw down at night, what St. Patrick built in the day. The saint therefore watched him, and would have caught him, if the bull had not made such a prodigious leap.

But we need not resort to ridicule for weapons to demolish these fanciful fabrics. The books of these writers are so carelessly composed, that what they say in one page, they generally unsay in another, or in a second edition. Thus in the *first* edition of the *Dissertations*, it is advanced, that the authority for these air-built castles was a *Filea* of the *sixth* century; but in the *second* it is given up, that the compiler from whom the account was taken could not have lived before the *twelfth*.

The first edition was published before those new, old, epic pastorals, *Fingal* and *Temora*, made their appearance, the palpable forgeries of which so offended Mr. O'Connor, that forgetting the minute description he himself had given of Tara, he, in the second edition, (note p. 81.) justly enough censures the Highland bard (who would doubtless be sorry to lose the praise of originality, for what he calls translations) for his breach of *costume* in opening his poem by a representation of “*Cuchullin's pensiveness close by Tara's walls.*” “This writer, says he, conformed to the customs of modern times, little considering that the Irish built no castles before the 12th century.” And this he confirms in the strongest terms in another place, where, after admitting that “the history of one age gives a tolerable picture of all the rest,” he confesses, that “the Irish built their houses only of timber;—that so far did inveterate custom prevail, they could not be induced to build their churches and monasteries of more durable materials; that they had no cities, or even towns;—that they had few mechanic arts, and no coined money. That in their wars with the English, they were at last obliged to avail themselves of the arts of their enemies, by erecting castles and other strong holds; and that the bards inveighed bitterly against this innovation.”

Thus tumble our *Milesian* palaces, with as much ease as castles of cards built by a child. They vanish, at the touch, like the illusions of perspective, or the baseless fabrics of a vision, which leave not a wreck behind.

After reading this luxuriant description, rich in all the flowers of romance and figures of amplification, who could have supposed that the imagination, at least of an Antiquary, could have gone farther? It was, nevertheless, reserved for the editor of the *Collect. de rebus Hib.* No. XII. to out-do all his predecessors in castle-building. After carefully preserving this palace of Cormac in perfect repair from Conn of the hundred battles to Niall of the nine towers, his fancy, in a fine frenzy, rolling upon the fragment of a fragment, forms or constructs another in the same spot upon THREE towers, whose dimension was 300 feet square, exactly one third of the other.

For “in the reign of Cormac the palace of Tamar
 “was 900 feet square, containing 150 apartments, 150
 “dormitories or sleeping rooms for guards, 60 men
 “in each; the height was 27 cubits; there were 150
 “common drinking horns, twelve porches, twelve
 “doors, and 1000 guests daily, besides princes,
 “orators, and men of science, engravers of gold
 “and silver, carvers, modellers, and nobles.”

In the days of Laogaire, though the palace was less, the furniture was more: The side-board was enriched with “50 curious gilded horns, 50 cups
 “curiously engraved for the use of the nobles only;
 “100 *ol* of metheglin daily served in the vat, 5
 “cubits the height of the candlesticks, and 4 flam-
 “beaux in each: 7 astrologers, 7 historians and
 “but one Druid, one mimic or comedian and pro-
 “fessor of music: no more was allowed in this pa-
 “lace: one carriage or chariot only at a time within
 “the court, to prevent confusion: a large body of
 “troops were also within the walls. The quantities
 “of meat that *was* daily consumed surpasses all
 “description: there were 27 kitchens and 9 cisterns
 “for washing hands and feet.”

Next comes the common eating parlour belonging to this miraculous fabrick, of which the Editor,
 hopeless

hopeless of conveying any idea by words, presents you with the ichnography. But not even the Engraver's art can cast a shade of probability upon this air-drawn hall; though significatively called BRUIDHEAN.

Now as to *this fragment*, pronounced to be so valuable, *the Version* here given of it is *either true, or it is not*. If it be true and faithful to the original, then I ask would the republic of letters have been at this day much the poorer if this treasure had never been brought to light? Does it exalt our ideas of the *quondam* magnificence of the Irish monarchy, or does it excite our contempt of the bombastic ravings of such clumsy romance? A palace of 300 feet square, formed or constructed on *three towers*! And *Niall*, the builder, surnamed of the *NINE towers*, because he had made a vow to build *THREE*!

On the other hand, if this same fragment of fragments be not truly rendered, then is the translator responsible for its imperfections. But that it cannot be free from errors may be safely argued from the epithet of *nine towers* given to *Niall**. For who before ever heard of a king of Ireland called *Niall of the nine towers*? yet who, how moderately soever versed in its history, that has not heard of
Niall

* The reason why this prince was distinguished by the title of the hero of the *nine hostages*, and is called in the Irish language *Niall Naigiallach*, was because he had nine hostages in his custody, five from the provinces of Ireland and four from the kingdom of Scotland:—for the word *giall* in Irish signifies a *hostage*. Keating, p. 318.

This is fully confirmed by Lhuyd upon the word *giall*, where he gives this very *Niall Naigialla* as an example: and recites more countries than Keating has done, from whence our hero got the *Pledges* or *Hostages*. This is the only Irish Dictionary in my possession, and I deem it full sufficient. Flaherty also observes, “*Niellus rex ob potentiam, profapiam & progeniem, magnus, alio cognomento Naigiallach; hoc est; a novem obsidibus appellatus, quod totidem regionibus subditis obsides imperitarit. Ogygia, p. 400.* But all this and more may be overturned by an oriental glossary, with as much facility as a palace 300 feet square may be raised on *three towers*.

Niall of the *nine hostages*? a name better authenticated than any in the whole pagan dynasty; for it was he who, in one of his triumphant expeditions, made a captive of St. Patrick, when as yet a little boy. And do not the Irish bards, senachies, annalists and historians, ever fond of pompous and high founding titles, with one voice style him the *Hero of of the nine HOSTAGES*?

May we not then, without any great harshness of metaphor, say that an intellectual prism is still wanting to separate and analyse the mixed lights which fall upon the subject of our antiquities? Truth and falsehood, blended together, are often indiscriminately rejected by superficial enquirers. It concerns us, therefore, not only to split the various colours in the rays of truth, but also to distinguish the different shades in the lines of error. Our skill in the arts will not be the less, if we disbelieve that our ancestors built Braganza, or that they had the use of telescopes three thousand years ago. Nor shall we be the better philosophers, for being persuaded that our Gaelic Druids were masters of the Greek Sophists. Nor yet the more learned theologists †, for being acquainted with the Irish language.

† None can be good divines, who are not good textuaries, and no divines can answer to their heavenly master, or to their country, their neglect of learning the Irish language. Preface to Vallancey's Irish Grammar, p. 29.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

THE ancient history of Ireland has subsisted too long upon a dull paraphrase of the fables of bards and the legends of monks. It is full time that we abandon self-condemned tales, which grow not more probable by being so often retailed. And we shall be nothing the worse for acknowledging our ancestors to be just like those of our neighbouring nations.—It is not, however, peculiar to Ireland that she can arrogate to herself no great historic praise. Nations which have atchieved actions still more worthy of notice, have nevertheless been deficient in the arrangement of those materials which their annalists have preserved.

The character of ancient nations must be learned, either from the express relations of cotemporary writers, or collected from a dispassionate survey of surviving monuments. The savage knows nothing but from living memory, or from fading tradition. The wild song of the barbarous bard may be repeated for some ages, but not with exactness. The meager annal is the most learned effort of nascent civilization; just history is the latest production of complete refinement.

In default of regular annals the antiquary must resort to presumptive evidences, and pick up those fragments which lie scattered over the immense spaces of time and place. In respect of time, the first notice of Ireland is that taken by Orpheus; who reports, that the Argonauts touched at *Ierne* in their expedition. Now if this circumstance confers antiquity, then is Ireland an ancient nation indeed;

indeed; for * even imperial Rome cannot produce any testimony so old, of its being known to the Greeks.

The next foreign evidences, I believe, in point of time, are *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, and *Solinus*, who wrote in and about the first century; and who agree in asserting that the Irish were then in the most rude state of society. And some of them are particular in observing that the Irish were more uncultivated than the *Britons*, as the *Britons* were more uncultivated than the *Gauls* †. *Diodorus* says, “that the most fierce of the *Gauls* are those who inhabit the north: They say that some of them are Canibals, like the *Britons* who inhabit *Ireland*.”

If the testimony of these writers is not to be entirely credited, neither is it to be entirely disregarded. For to argue that they all trusted to report, and knew not well what to say, is only to admit that Ireland was, in their time, very little known.—If Tacitus has said that the ports of Ireland were more frequented by merchants than those of Britain; it was probably because they were safer; besides, *more* does not imply *much*. The advocates for our Pagan civilization must confess, that, if their country had been then much known, the inhabitants of it would not have been represented, by their contemporaries, as “a people destitute of every virtue ‡.”

When Cæsar was desirous of knowing the state of Britain, he convened the merchants and traders of Gaul from every quarter, but they were utterly ignorant

* Usher, p. 378.

† Lib. 5. *Feroceſſimi Gallorum ſunt qui ſub ſeptentrionibus habitant: Dicunt ex iis nonnullos anthropophagos eſſe, ſicut Britannos qui Irim incolunt.*

‡ *Cultores ejus inconditi ſunt & omnium virtutum ignari magis quam aliæ gentes, aliquatenus tamen gnari, pietatis admodum expertes.* Pomp. Mela, Lib. 3.

ignorant of the size of the island, the number or force of the nations which inhabited it, or even of their skill in war or customs in peace: Nay, they could not give him any exact information of their ports, most capable of receiving his fleet. And when Agricola, near a hundred years after, made the best inquiries about the state of Ireland, he concluded, that it could be subdued by a legion and some auxiliaries. From all which we must conclude, that the British islands were, in those times, possessed by a race of men far from civilized; and that the Irish were not less barbarous than their neighbours.

This opinion has obtained so generally, from generation to generation, among the writers of every country but our own, that Mr. Hume made no scruple to assert, and refused to retract the assertion, that “the Irish, from the beginning of time, “had been buried in the most profound barbarism “and ignorance; who, at the coming of the Eng- “lish over them, continued still in the most rude “state of society, and were distinguished only by “those vices to which human nature, not tamed “by education nor restrained by laws, is for ever “subject. Among them courage and force, though “exercised in the commission of crimes, were more “honoured than any pacific virtues; and the most “simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, “were almost wholly unknown. They had felt the “invasions of the Danes and the other northern “people; but these inroads, which had spread “barbarism in the other parts of Europe, tended “rather to improve the Irish; for the only towns, “which were to be found in the island, had been “planted along the coast by the freebooters of “Norway and Demark.”

As to the fancy of Voltaire, that some nations seem formed for subjection, and that there is a *natural* inferiority to England in the genius of Ireland,

Ireland *, it no more deserves a serious answer than the following stanza of the old ballad to the tune of *St. George he was for England, &c.*

St. David of Wales the Welshmen much advance :
 St. Jaques of Spain, that never yet broke lance :
 St. Patrick of Ireland which was St. George's boy,
 Seven years he kept his horse, and then stole him
 away :

For which knavish act as slaves they do remaine.

But St. George, St. George the dragon he hath slaine.

St. George he was for England ; St. Denis was for France ;
 Sing *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

But

* Yet why should we blame foreigners for their fanciful reflections, or elaborate invectives against this country ? when we see an aboriginal native (whether bowing to such high authority, or affecting a philosophical moderation, but certainly seized by an intellectual epilepsy, in the very midst of a groundless encomium on the literature of his country) introduce the following most false and vilifying remark : “ The uses to which letters have been turned in *Ireland*, so different from the practice of other *Celtic* countries, was not owing to a more happy local genius among its inhabitants ; *their heavy climate, and other physical causes, led rather to a slower progress in intellectual researches* : But it was owing to one great genius, and this was OLLAM FODHLA.” But of this more anon ! In the *interim* let me ask—Does not Spencer panegyryze their fine vein for poetry, and that creative imagination which is the soul of it ? Even Mr. Macpherson does not refuse them a similar praise. Ireland, it is true, has not, as of old, her colleges of bards ; yet one of the sweetest of English poets, calls her the mother of sweet fingers. No depression from without, no discouragement from within, was ever yet sufficient to quench her poetic fires. This age at least has produced its full proportion in the dramatic walk. What sock at this day so gracefully treads the stage ? O ! fie Mr. O’Conor ! have you forgot our musicians too ? Does not Cambrensis, who denies our country many good qualities which it possesses, admit, that the Irish were above all other nations incomparably skilled in music ? And has not their execution been in all ages astonishing ? Did not Handel call our Carolan the Irish Orpheus ? And are these excellencies compatible with a *heavy climate and other physical incapacities* ?

But as to Mr. Hume's * high-wrought painting of the Irish nation, was it sufficient for the Historian of it, to make the following phlegmatical observation? "The people, thus traduced, exclaim with indignation, that no brain-sick monk, in days of darkness and superstition, ever betrayed such credulity as appears in those assertions. They are, indeed, well disposed to retort this severity; but the Irish have no philosophical historian."

Alas! and was it only to improve in the language, that Demosthenes was translated? Did the sun of science set with Mr. Hume? Could not the victorious adversary of Warburton have enlightened his three tomes of Irish history with a single ray of philosophy? Was there no spirit to be infused into such a body of matter? Was there no statement of facts which could have redeemed the national name? Could he not, in a manly tone, have marked those obstacles, those invincible obstacles, which

* That a mind so philosophical as Mr. Hume's was not emancipated from those national prejudices which every where enslave the vulgar, is evident from his going frequently out of his road in search of opportunities to depreciate the Irish: Thus, in describing the battle of Pinky, the Irish are twice introduced, and both times to their disadvantage: First, it is said, "the Irish archers were thrown into disorder, and *even* the *other* troops began to stagger."—Again, towards the conclusion: "'The retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers.'" But how different is the representation which Lord Clarendon gives of the behaviour of the Irish troops in Scotland, at a much later period? His Lordship (who at the same time was greatly incensed against the nation at large, for its conduct to the king) acquaints us, that "Montrose did always acknowledge that the rise and beginning of his good success was due, and to be imputed, to that body of Irish which had been sent over.—For upon any military action, in which Montrose was always successful, the Highlanders went always home with their booty, and the Irish staid together with their general."—"The Irish were 1500 men, very good and very well officered, and withal so hardy, that neither the ill fare, nor the ill lodging in the Highlands, gave them any discouragement."

which have, at every period, obstructed the national progress to improvement?—What Dr. Leland could have done, towards wiping away national aspersions, it is not for me to say; but what he has done, we all know. We know, that with a dignity of style and structure of periods which might have adorned any history but that he has written, we are, in ten pages, disgusted at a dull detail, a sombrous narration, unanimated by reflection, and enervated by a servile dread of speaking out *.

But we anticipate. Let us first examine into the foundation of those pretensions which our writers of another class make to literature and civilization, in the most early times.

Mr. Toland was certainly a man of considerable force of reason, with a fund of knowledge far beyond that of any writer on the same side of the question. His application of *Lucian's* Allegory of the Gallic *Hercules*, the god of eloquence, called *Ogmios*, and his derivation, from him, of the name of *Ogham*, given to the Irish alphabet, is ingenious, and not improbable. What he has written, on the religion and literature of the Pagan Irish, has been related, in some more questionable shape, by almost every writer, on the same subject, since his time. His zeal, however, for this mistaken honour of his country, has betrayed him into strange inconsistencies. He sets out with admitting that the Druids did, in no time or place, commit their rites or doctrines

* Mr. Hume himself, in a single sentence, says more in defence of Ireland, than Dr. Leland in his three volumes. For whatever is said by him, in her favour, may be supposed to have been extorted. Yet, he, speaking of the time when Edward Bruce, brother to the king of Scotland, was crowned king of Ireland in Dundalk, makes this just reflection: "The horrible and absurd oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government, made them fly at first to the standard of the king of Scots."

doctrines to writing; yet he tells you, in the same sentence, that this has not deprived him of materials to compile their history. Now Cæsar, Strabo, Pliny, and other ancients, are open to every scholar; so he tells us that *his* materials were to be extracted “from the knowledge of the Irish language and “books:” Whence it should seem that the *Druids*, the teachers of theology and moral excellence, did not write, but that their scholars the vulgar did. But he adds:—“Besides language and traditions of “the Irish, the monuments of stone and other materials, which this country affords, there remain “many *manuscripts undoubtedly genuine*, besides “such as are forged, and greater numbers interpolated: Several whereof are in Ireland, some “in England, and others in the Irish monasteries “abroad. But notwithstanding the long state of “barbarity in which that nation hath lain, they “have incomparably more ancient materials of “that kind for their history than either the English or the French, or any other European nation.—Why none of the natives have hitherto “made any better use of these treasures; or why “they and such others as have written concerning “the history of Ireland, have only entertained the “world with the fables of it; why the modern Irish “historians, I say, give us such a medley of relations, *unpicked and unchosen*, I had rather any “man else should tell. This is undeniable, that “learned men, in other places, perceiving the “same dishes to be eternally served up at every “meal, are of opinion, that there is no better fare “in the country.”

After this strong and just representation of almost every Irish writer on Irish affairs, except Stanihurst, Usher and Ware, one would have expected, from a writer so capable and so sceptical as Toland, that he would have separated the flour from

from the bran, and have exhibited somewhat beyond the arrest of doubt. But instead of doing any thing worthy the expectations he would raise, he only tells you, in his specimen, what he *will* do when he comes to the history itself: treating of the Druids, he says,—*I shall discover such things about their temples* and (without even completing the sentence) “I shall discover such things, I say, about the famous egg of the Druids, to the learned hitherto a riddle, not to speak of their magical gems and herbs; as also about their favourite all-heal or mistletoe—all these heads will be so many chapters.”——Speaking of the bards, he says—“of their orders, and degrees, and Irish names, we shall sufficiently discourse in our proposed history, where you’ll find this (threefold) division of them well warranted.”——“In the history likewise, shall be fully explained the third order of the Celtic literati.”——The superficial discoveries (of the Greek and Roman writers) about the *Celtic divinities* I shall abundantly expose.”——Speaking of the manuscripts, he says—“of these I shall one day give a catalogue, marking the places where they now lie, as many as I know of them, not meaning every transcript of the same manuscript, which would be endless if not impossible. In all conditions the Irish have been strangely solicitous, if not to the last degree superstitious, about preserving their books and parchments; even those of them which are so old as to be now partly or wholly unintelligible. Abundance, through over care, have perished under ground, the concealer not having skill or wanting searcloth and other proper materials for preserving them. The most valuable pieces, both in verse and prose, were written by their heathen ancestors; whereof some indeed have been interpolated after the prevailing of Christianity.”

After

After these, and many more such puffs as these, we may fairly ask, *Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor biatu?* Not even the mouse; for no history, that I can hear of, ever appeared. He talks of searcloth and other materials for preserving the parchments, containing those *most valuable pieces*, both in verse and prose, written by our *heathen* ancestors, whilst he admits that our heathen ancestors used no Parchment: which, together with the Roman alphabet, came in with the interpolating Christians. But the *Birch* tables were copied! And pray what searcloth, or other material, could preserve or embalm that primitive *Birch-table*, which he says, was conserved by the skill of *Dudley Forbes*, even so late as the year 1683. Strange! that John Toland, who could deride a relick of the cross, in any monastery, should nevertheless countenance the belief that an hereditary antiquarian of Ireland could preserve an original book of *birch wood* till the end of the 17th century.

“ But, says he, in order to complete my design,
 “ so as to leave no room for any to write on this
 “ subject after me; and also to procure several
 “ valuable *manuscripts*, or authentic copies of them,
 “ well knowing where they lie, I purpose towards
 “ the spring to take a journey for at least six
 “ months.” What! if you knew so well where they lay, was there no way of coming at them but by a journey of at least six months? I wish, however, that you could have (according to your own figure of speech) provided some new dish, for as it was before you, so it has been since, we have only the *repita crambe*, the same insipid hash, served up at every meal.

O’Flaherty has the praise of being methodical in his *Ogygia*; yet by far the greater part of his 500 quarto pages is taken up with an universal chronology, synchronizing the kings of Ireland with other
 great

great monarchs; and almost as applicable to any other country as to this. What relates purely to Ireland, might be condensed into a nutshell. The whole book is a farrago of mere literary parade and incoherent dry anecdote; which clearly proves no one point, but that abundance of learning is very compatible with a plentiful lack of judgment.

If he would induce you to believe that the Irish had letters at the most early period, he makes an excursion to Persia, India, and China: leads you up to Enoch, the first writer, and brings you down to John of Guttenburg, the first printer.

The Irish, he tells you, used javelins in battle, and then begins a tedious disquisition concerning the different sorts of that weapon, with an enumeration of their *Latin* names. When he would convince you that they warred with chariots, he demonstrates it, from Cæsar, that they did so in Britain.—If he would prove that they fought with slings, then all the classics are ransacked to shew the excellence of the Balearic slingers. And, as if that would not do, he clinches the proof by separate dissertations upon the *fustibulus*, *aries*, *catapulta*, *balista*, *scorpio*, &c.

When he would display the piety of his renowned progenitors, he carries you to Jerusalem, and demonstrates from the Acts of the Apostles, cap. ii. that Irishmen were there at the crucifixion. But, at the same time very judiciously confutes the opinion that Conal Cearnah was one of them; because, says he, Conal was at that time sixty years old, an age too far advanced for hunting after fame by single combat.

If a prince lies with his mother, why, it seems, he could not help it, for she was drunk. Besides, Edipus married his own mother, Jocasta, and had by her Eteocles and Polynices, the unhappy causes of the Theban war.

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They affect to despise Keating : I must nevertheless stile him the father of Irish history. And though I will not call him an Herodotus ; yet are they, in some respects, not unlike. They are both luxuriant in their stile ; both are fabulous, and both are credulous ; but neither of them believed all that they received, nor all that they set down : They reported not so much what they credited as what they could get. And till I see other authoritative documents, different from Keating's, I must incline to the opinion that his book contains all that is worth knowing of our most ancient history. Peter Walsh, author of the *Prospect of Ireland, Irish Remonstrance*, &c. and consequently no incompetent judge, says " that Keating's is the best and completest history of the period he has undertaken."

I am told that his translator has not done him critical justice. But the author himself was so sensible of the imperfections of the original work, that when he grew old—for it was written in his youth—and found that he could not call in the copies already taken *, " he desired that it should never be translated into any other language, nor otherwise regarded than as a miscellany of undigested things, wherein judicious and discerning natives might find something worth their perusal at leisure hours."—The Marquis of Clanricard more than insinuates, that the present translation was " brought forward under the direction of a certain gentleman (meaning Mr. Toland), who already has rendered himself famous by new schemes of doctrine and religion, upon the authority of *some old manuscripts nobody else could see or come at besides himself.*"

Here we see what the opinion of those times was about Mr. Toland's manuscripts : And, from the whole complexion of the affair, we may rest assured that, if Keating had not faithfully cited his authorities,

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* Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricard, p. 88.

ties, Mr. Toland (or some of the Ogygian writers since) would not have failed to have said so. However, if those manuscripts be of that value they are reported to be, or if any others have been since discovered, would not our linguists do more service to their cause, by giving us a faithful translation of them, than by continually declaiming in their praise? For then it would be seen, by a clear light, what those *treasures* are which, we are told *, they contain: But till something more than I have yet discovered, shall be developed, I shall not much regret the obscurity of our manuscripts: being persuaded that wisdom will not expire with any of the Celtic dialects.

If the Philologist will distress himself by lamenting that a language is on the verge of being lost, I would console him with this consideration, that language is not knowledge, but only the key to it, and that if he loses one he may get another. But no key can open to treasures in an empty bureau. Lord Verulam, who knew the value of words, says, that “words are the counters of wise men, but the “money of fools.” And Doctor Johnson, who would not depreciate them, says, “that words are “the daughters of earth, but that things are the “sons of Heaven.” It is true that this great scholar wished for a publication and translation of the most valuable of the Irish manuscripts. Yet he entertained no high opinion of their contents: he said that “he considered them as a literary curiosity, “as a first effort of the human mind to enlarge “its powers; and that their being printed would “conserve a language and embalm a speech †.” But

* Irish Grammar, c. IX. by Col. Vallancey.

† These words, as nearly as I can remember, he used to myself, at the time he gave me the letter for Mr. O’Conor, to which I have above referred. But the following extract from it will decide what his sentiments, in the year 1777, were. “Having had the pleasure of conversing with Dr. Campbell about your character and your literary undertakings, I am resolved to gratify

But my zeal for the substantial happiness of rational nature, obliges me to go into the opinion of SWIFT *, that better would it be for this country if the Celtic language were wholly obliterated and universally abolished. For do not those tracts of Ireland, where the Gaelic is spoke in highest perfection, afford the most frequent specimens of fields unploughed, arts unknown, and minds uncultivated?

This I know, that the *Extracts* from the annals of Ulster, lately published from a version, partly English and partly Latin, in the British Museum, do not favour the system of Pagan antiquities, for they commence only at 431, the year before St. Patrick's mission. As to the Annals of Innisfallen, commonly called the Munster Annals, and deemed one of the most authentic records, I have seen them, as translated from the copy in the MSS. room of the College of Dublin, by Mr. Teige O'Flanagan, a member of the University; and though they commence A. D. 250, I can discover nothing in them, of any consequence, that I had not before seen.

The Annals of the Four Masters are said to contain the very marrow of Irish history, being compiled by four Monks of the abbey of Donegal, towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The high estimati-

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gratify myself by renewing a correspondence which began and ended a great while ago; and ended, I am afraid, by my fault; a fault which, if you have not forgotten it, you must now forgive.

If ever I have disappointed you, give me leave to tell you, that you have likewise disappointed me. I expected great discoveries in Irish antiquity and large publications in the Irish language. But the world remains still, as it was, doubtful and ignorant."

* "I am deceived if any thing hath more contributed to prevent the Irish from being *tamed* than this encouragement of their language, which might easily be abolished and become a dead one in half an age, with little expence and less trouble."

Swift, vol. 8. 4to. p. 263.

on they are held in may sufficiently appear from this, that Mr. O'Connor, in his preface to his Dissertations, informs his readers, " that to avoid the trouble of frequent references and quotations, most of what he says of the Christian ages, is extracted principally from the ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS." Upon the style of which he pronounces an elaborate panegyric at page 43. As the Italian comes nearest the Latin, so, he contends, the Gaelic or Irish approaches closest to the original Celtic; which the uninterrupted repose of the nation from *foreign conquest*, and the political necessity of the art of speaking, preserved pure and unmixed—without that harshness of the Celtic dialects spoken in Gaul, of which the Roman writers have complained, with the prejudices of a foreign ear. " But, says he, to those who judge by the ear alone, *it* (the Irish) *is to this day remarkably harmonious*: in this instance superior to the *Hebrew* itself, and excels in a rare collection of *complex* terms, for which the *Latin* and modern tongues have no equivalent but by paraphrase. The annalists, commonly called the Four Masters, have preserved it, as it was spoken in the *fifth*, *sixth* and succeeding centuries; and had we no other obligation to those compilers, this alone would be a valuable acquisition to literature; though, through the carelessness of the present age, it runs a chance of being lost to the next."

To which I shall only answer, that some care has been taken that this *venerable record* should not be *altogether* lost, to such as are unfortunate enough not to understand this paragon of speeches, the Irish language. For, some years ago, it being my purpose to write the life of Hugh O'Nial, the famous Earl of Tir-oen *, and resolved if possible to come at the truth,

* This extraordinary man was an illegitimate branch of that royal stock which had always ruled Ulster as Lords paramount, and had supplied the throne of Ireland with many Monarchs.

truth, and to be assured of all that was said of him, not only by the English but by the Irish writers, I applied to Mr. O'Connor for his advice and assistance: who,

Bred up under the best masters in England, and received not only with respect but favour at the Court of Elizabeth, he was not less refined than men of his rank in those times. Of this liberal education, he so availed himself as to obtain, from the Queen, a command of men in Ireland; whom he took care to instruct in the art of war, and without appearing to increase the number of his troops, he was always dismissing and attaching to his person, the old soldiers whom he had formed, and gathering recruits to learn the tactical exercise.

Thus did he introduce a certain degree of military discipline among his followers, long before it was suspected by the Queen that he could have any views but to her service. The house of O'Nial had always proved refractory to English government, and the rebellion of Shane (that proud chieftain, who said he never made peace with the Queen but at her seeking,) had shewn that it was not to be despised. This prudent Princess deemed it good policy to invest Hugh with the Earldom of Tyrone, as a counterpoise to the influence of the legitimate blood.

Called, by his Sovereign, to this high honour, the horizon of his ambition began to widen, far beyond any proportion, with the height of his exaltation. He soon looked down upon his new dignity, and, like others of his family, has been heard to say, that he "would rather be O'Nial of Ulster, than King of Spain;" then the most potent monarch in Europe.

However, as men of aspiring genius have always their enemies, and are sometimes closely watched by those very persons whom they mistake for their friends, those unguarded expressions were whispered to the Queen, and did not fail to alarm her fears and suspicions. She required an explanation of his conduct; which his prompt address and profound dissimulation enabled him, not only to justify at Court, but to varnish over with all the plausibilities of zeal for her interest.

Having at length, as he thought, sufficiently prepared his adherents, and as it were, infused his own enterprising soul into all around him, he was the first in Ireland who used religion as a motive for taking up arms against the crown of England; though Lord Essex declared, that he had no more religion than his horse. But before he ventured to strike a blow, he imported vast quantities of lead, under the pretext of roofing his castle of Dungannon, which he melted into bullets; and collected in the most private manner, from abroad, such arms and ammunition as his country could not then supply.

At

who, with that politeness which adorns his manners, recommended to me this same compilation of the **FOUR MASTERS**, then in his possession ; and at the same

At length when his mine was laid ready for explosion, he attacked Marshal Bagnal, who commanded for the Queen in Ulster, and to whose sister he was married ; giving out that the quarrel was of a private nature, and still professing unalterable allegiance to his Royal Mistress. But using his opportunity he sets upon him, at the head of a more numerous and better appointed army, and after killing the Marshal with his own hand, he laid sixteen hundred English dead in the passes of Tyrone.

This exploit, for which he was stigmatized as Arch-traitor in England, gained him the title of Saviour of his country in Ireland. The nation resounded with acclamations of joy, and distant fame re-echoed the applauses of O'Nial. He now threw off the mask, set up the standard of independence, disclaimed the dignity of Earl, and, as if his bar of illegitimacy had been cancelled, he was acknowledged, by his kindred, as the head of their Sept, and hailed by the darling title of *O'Nial*.

He found his country distracted and dispirited. Depression from within, and oppression from without, had spread universal disunion and distrust. He attached his friends, he gained his enemies, he united all Ireland in one great cause, the cause of freedom. He solicited foreign alliances, and obtained them. Spain sent him powerful, but ineffectual succours.

Though it was the lot of Hugh O'Nial to lead barbarians, it would be injustice to his memory to call him a barbarian, when we behold him, ill supported as he was, meet upon equal terms, at parley, the Earl of Essex, that Essex who had so lately humbled the pride of Spain ; who was, not only the favourite of his mistress, but the most renowned General in England, and backed by the greatest armament she had ever sent out. After we consider all this, and associate it with the backward condition of his country, who can deny him the praise of a great man !

That historian will give the justest portrait of his character, who draws him as he was, a compound of vice and virtue in the extreme. If his versatility did sometimes degenerate into duplicity, let candour consider the feeble instruments he had to work with, and the powers he had to cope withal, led by the greatest generals of the time, Norris, Essex and Mountjoy. Above all, let it be observed, that finess was not all on his side, for it is not the attribute of a rude people ; and it should never be forgotten, that Ireland was at all times, more sinned against than sinning.

If his promises were lavish, he performed all that he could, and more than could well be expected. If we see him warring, some-
times

same time provided me with an interpreter, without which the book would have been of no use to me. This gentleman (who was no other than that very Mr. O'Gorman who taught Col. Vallancey the rudiments of his Irish Grammar) translated for me all that part of the Queen's reign during which Tir-oen engaged the attention of all Europe. And I cannot help declaring that my high expectations were wofully disappointed. But lest I should seem to depreciate either the matter or manner of such an applauded work, I shall lodge Mr. O'Gorman's manuscript, for some months, in the hands of the Printer hereof, that any learned Gentleman, susceptible of curiosity on such a subject, may have an opportunity of gratifying it.

times by force and often by stratagem, now using intreaty, and then defiance, we should rather applaud than condemn his fertility of resources. If he suffered an inglorious defeat at Kinsale, let us review his raggamuffin troops, half starved, half naked, and not half armed, spent with the toils of a painful march across the kingdom, and along the mountains, to join the Spaniards, already cooped up in the town; and to heighten his distress, he had to struggle against the treachery of Mac Mahon and the disobedience of O'Donnel. After this survey of his situation, cast your eye on the English army, far more numerous, gallantly appointed, flushed with recent victory, and led by the Fabius of his day. And after you have done this, though you see the battle commence in a defeat and terminate in a rout, yet deny O'Nial the praise of an Hannibal if you can!

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

OF the Seabright collection, I understand that a translation is in some forwardness by Mr. O'Flanagan, who being as candid as he is learned in the language of his country, deserves every encouragement in the prosecution of such an arduous undertaking : which, faithfully executed, will leave nothing for the future to be suggested respecting the antiquities of this country, and must shed considerable light upon the manners and customs of the ancient Irish.

This end has been, in some degree, answered by the specimen wherewith Col. Vallancey has favoured the public ; and which he calls *fragments of the Brehon laws of Ireland*. That specimen, indeed, so far bears internal evidence of high antiquity, that it relates to a people in the most rude state that we can conceive capable of writing. For its regulations refer mostly to cows, sheep, horses, swine, fowl, &c. to the ascertaining the dimensions of fences and bawns, and for adjusting the trespasses of cattle.

It is true that we hear of corn fields : and, consequently, the social state could not then be purely pastoral ; yet it could not have been so far advanced as to be intitled *civilized* ; it must still have been barbarous ; especially when among the rest we read that enlightened passage : “ When Seanca formed
 “ his code, he distinguished between the male and
 “ female property, lest he should suffer that judg-
 “ ment,

“ment, all Brehons were punished with, for partiality, *in having a large wen grow out of his cheek.*”

But unless the translation be faithful and exact we can form no adequate idea of the original. And of this we cannot be certain; for the learned Mr. Beauford assures me that having carefully perused No. X. of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, “he was surprized to find that the translation there given was in no part correct, and in the greater not bearing the most distant relation to the original.” The same judicious writer gives it also as his opinion, from certain evidences upon the face of the manuscripts, that neither that nor the Seabright collection could be more ancient than the 13th century.

This accords with what Dr. Leland has observed of them: “In one place it is ordained, that in a particular case, when the property of lands is disputed, the UNANIMOUS voice of TWELVE men shall decide the controversy. Hence, continues the Doctor, it was concluded, *by those who only understood the translation*, that these Brehon laws were nothing more than the local ordinances of some Brehon, who COPIED from the LEGAL PROCEEDINGS of his neighbours, the ENGLISH settlers.”

But the writing of law *reports* was not congenial to the spirit of the Irish monarchy. It is hard to conceive that those judicial proceedings could have been committed to writing before the time, when the Irish, having been refused the benefit and communication of the English law, began to see the expediency of having among themselves (still a separate nation from the English colony) a fixed standard and written rule of right, whereto they might (with more confidence than hitherto) resort, in the regulation

gulation and adjudication of their private concerns*.

A retrospect to the general state of infantine societies should repress credulity from supposing that so many volumes of written laws could have existed in Ireland at a more early period. When politics are young, manners and customs alone are dominant. As arts and intercourse, commerce and property increase, laws become necessary and are therefore enacted. But still these laws are few and plain, till civilization, till refinement, and, above all, till the blessings of civil and political liberty render them voluminous and complicated. What codes of law had Rome before the decemvirate? and of the twelve tables, then established, ten were borrowed from Athens; as Athens had before borrowed from Egypt. I ask what volumes of written laws had the English before *Magna Charta*?

But, if this argument from analogy should not be admitted, the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis cannot be rejected. He spent much of his time here, and wrote, in the 12th century, the topography and civil history of the country; and he stigmatizes the Irish as *GENS EXLEX*, not only because they had no written law, but because they had no certain and fixed rule of right; such as the common or unwritten law of England then was. Spencer and Davis, (and who could be better informed than they? men so learned, so sagacious and so inquisitive,

* It must be submitted to the judgment of the reader, whether Mr. O'Connor does not point to one source, at least, of either this or such like collections of what they call BREHON LAWS, in the following passage. "DUALD MAC FIRBIS closed the line of the hereditary antiquaries of *Lecan* in *Tirfiacra* on the *Moy*, a family whose LAW REPORTS, and historical collections, have derived great credit to their country (many of which lie now dispersed in England and France.)—This last of the *Firbisses* was unfortunately murdered at *Dunflin*, in the county of *Sligo*, A. D. 1670, and by his death our antiquities received an irreparable blow." Preface to *Ogygia vindicated*, p. 9.

tive, and who lived so long in the country;) and Blackstone all agree that the jurisdiction of the Brehons was altogether arbitrary and uncertain without any written law or rule.

But lest they, as Englishmen, should be suspected of prejudice or misinformation, let us appeal to the most learned of our own country. Stanihurst, as he was the first Irishman (that I know of) who has written, from knowledge upon the spot, of the manners and customs of the Irish, so is he, to this day, incomparably the best writer on the subject. Uncle to archbishop Usher, and highly respected by his contemporary writers, he is cited as the first authority by his successors. One of them styles him the antiquary and philosopher of Ireland. Yet Dr. Warner calls him an Englishman: from whence I conclude that he never so much as saw his book; for the very title page is marked with *Richardi Stanihursti DUBLINIENSIS de rebus in Hibernia gestis*, and he professes to have taken up the pen for the honour of his native country. Yet he is generally decried by the present race of antiquaries, because he neither studies obscurity, nor brushes over the foolish figments of tradition, with the perishable varnish of self-refuted declamation.

This Stanihurst, I say, every way so well qualified to understand the state of his country, has impartially told us, that “ the Brehons were all of one
 “ family—that without any knowledge of either civil
 “ or canon law, they only retain in memory certain
 “ decisions, which by use and length of time obtain
 “ force; and by their construction of these, they
 “ have framed a sort of art; which they by no
 “ means suffer to be published, but reserve to them-
 “ selves as abstruse and recondite mysteries, con-
 “ cealed from common comprehension.” Arch-
 bishop Usher, Sir James Ware, and Sir Richard Cox,
 go into the same opinion. .

Yet

Yet Roddy, a famous collector of Irish MSS. asserts, that he CONVINCED the last of these writers that the Irish had written laws, by shewing him the volumes in which they were written. But for the truth of Cox's being *convinced*, we have only Roddy's word ; and the Knight, in the *apparatus* to his history, is so far from discovering any such conviction, that he maintains the contrary ; and declares that the Irish had no written law or well compiled rule of right, and that their traditions or customs were wrested to by-ends, and to serve a turn, by the Brehons. And Dr. Leland well observes, " that neither
 " Lynch in his refutations of Cambrensis, nor this
 " Roddy, says one word of having read or examin-
 " ed these tracts ; nor attempts to give any account
 " of their contents. The one only *saw* them, the
 " other only *shewed* them ; but neither understood
 " these books. Lhuyd the antiquarian saw them,
 " but to him they were equally unintelligible ; but
 " with more ingenuoufness he confesses his igno-
 " rance ; and, in a postscript to the preface of his
 " Irish dictionary, copies a passage as a specimen of
 " ancient Irish, of which he requests an interpre-
 " tation from any gentleman of Ireland or Scot-
 " land."

But now, continues the Doctor, Charles Vallancey, Esq; a native of England, claims the merit of first explaining them, having found out that they are written in the manner well known, to the Grecian antiquary, by the name of BOUSTROPHEDON. Let us therefore listen to what the Colonel himself says in support of the Brehon laws having been written not only before the settlement of the English here in the 12th century, but before the introduction of christianity in the fifth.

No. 5. *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, under the head of the LITERATURE of the IRISH NATION in HEATHENISH TIMES, his words are : " I shall now
 " proceed to give some clear proofs of our having
 " had

“ had the use of letters before Christianity. The
 “ proof I speak of, is the exhibition of a fragment
 “ of a code of laws, which I think every judicious
 “ reader, who is versed in Irish antiquities will
 “ judge to have been the product of very remote
 “ times, much higher than the fifth or sixth cen-
 “ turies.”

“ This fragment, continues he, contains twelve
 “ *folios*, and begins at folio sixty-four, the sixty-
 “ three preceding were missing : and here I must
 “ beg the reader to remark the difference between
 “ the *letter* of the law and the explication of the
 “ said law. I *maintain* the first is of *Pagan* insti-
 “ tution, and that the second is the work of one or
 “ many *Christian* Jurisconsults, who interpreted this
 “ law and applied it to particular cases, according
 “ to the intention of the Christian legislator.

“ This collection was partly made in the time of
 “ *Donal Mac Aodh Mac Ainmirech*, who was a
 “ Christian prince, by *Ceanfaela* : and partly by
 “ *AICILL* who lived after *Ceanfaela*'s time, (on the
 “ environs of Tara) and after the time of king
 “ *Cormac* ; for he was cotemporary with *Carbre*
 “ *Liffeachair*, son of *Cormac*. Nevertheless the
 “ work is attributed to *Cormac*, as it was begun by
 “ him and ended in the reign of his son *Carbre* ;
 “ so that the Irish lawyers who compiled and deli-
 “ vered this code of laws, were *AICILL* who lived
 “ in the reigns of *Cormac* and of his son *Carbre*,
 “ and *CEANFAELA* who flourished in the reign of
 “ *Donal*, son of *Hugh Mac Ainmirech*. No doubt
 “ but that these laws were collected by the order of
 “ those Irish princes, just as we know the Roman
 “ emperor Justinian I. who had the Roman laws
 “ collected by the care and labour of ten able jurif-
 “ consults, directed in chief by the celebrated
 “ *Trebonianus*, calling this collection the *Justinian*
 “ *Code*, &c. &c.”

As

As this is a cardinal point, we could not make this quotation shorter: not only because we would not, for an instant, be suspected of misrepresentation, but because we shall have frequent and immediate occasions to refer to it. Wherefore, reader, observe, 1. It is there laid down by the Colonel, that this collection or code of laws was made partly by AICILL jurisconsult of *Carbre*, and partly by *Ceanfaela*, jurisconsult of *Donal*:——2. At page 8, he shews you, that *Carbre* succeeded his father *Cormac* in 279; and of course *Aicill* did then (if ever) exist:——3. At the same page he shews that the above-named *Donal Mac Hugh* succeeded *Conalan* in 605; and yet, in the quotation, he tells you that *Aicill* lived after *Ceanfaela*'s time: so that, as *Ceanfaela* was jurisconsult of *Donal*, here is a small anachronism of near two hundred years. But this being only an incidental error, which does not shake his main position, we pass it over for things more essential.

Observe, therefore, in the 4th place, that at page 20, (after having exhibited what he calls *clear proofs* of the LITERATURE of the *Irish nation* in *Heathenish times*) it is said: “Here ends the Fragment;” “so that all the rest of the BLAI are wanting,” “and all that part composed by CEANFAELA and” “promulgated by DONAL.” Of course all that he has brought forward is the composition of *Aicill*, who, in the above long quotation, is said to have lived in the reigns of *Cormac* and *Carbre*: and so he himself states it at page 18: “Here ends the part called *ar na fefer*, or the explication of the terms, and immediately follows” “the part called *ar na blai*, or the sections of law” “called *blai*, and do all belong to the legislation of” “*Cormac* and his son *Carbre Liffeachair*.” Besides, *Donal* being “a Christian Prince,” the writings of his reign could not be supposed to
 prove

prove any thing in point ; for the Editor lays it down that the *letter* of the law is of Pagan institution.

These things premised, and it being kept in mind that Cormac and Carbre flourished in the *third* century, and it being well known that Christianity was not introduced into Ireland till the *fifth*, it follows that both *Carbre* and his jurisconsult *Aicill* must have been heathens. Yet now reader, “ if *that* thou canst read,” read what is put into either the *letter* or the *explication* (no matter which) of the code of laws, composed and promulged by these *Heathens*, *AICILL* and *Carbre*, the jurisconsult and legislator, at p. 11. “ The next page begins a “ kind of exordium to the work thus, *aslach on athair* “ *for Ebha & toltnugad do Ebha fria*, i. e. The ser- “ pent presented the forbidden fruit to Eve, and Eve “ consented to receive it. *Imarbas*, is the prohibi- “ tion of a legislator. *Com fugud do Adam fria* “ *slatarta um coimde*, i. e. Eve delivered it to “ dam in disobedience to the Trinity.”

As this *proof* is so *clear* that it would be darkened by any commentary, I shall only express my wishes that the Editor, instead of “ begging that his reader “ may remark the difference between the *letter* “ of the law and the *explication* of said law,” had himself pointed out to us *said* difference. For, notwithstanding the exhibition of a fragment of a code of laws is formally announced (at page 6), and notwithstanding it is said (at page 25), that “ the truth “ of the existence of letters in Ireland before Christia- “ nity is *probably* demonstrated,” I cannot with all my diligence discover, in the intervening pages, either *letter* or *explication*, text or margin, of any law whatsoever. The candid Editor himself tells us (page 8), that “ the first folio contains an historical prelude to the law.” And sure the Glossary, which he tells us (at

(at page 20) *ends the fragment*, does not deserve that name ; which will be more easily believed by any one who will only take the trouble of reading the TITLE PAGE : for the very *title* of this article is *Translation of a fragment of the Brehon LAWS ; or rather a GLOSSARY of the Brehon TERMS.*

As this Glossary is said in a note (page 12) to adopt the allegorical method of reasoning used by the Platonists, Stoics and primitive Fathers of the church, I shall, in pure mercy to my reader, make no extract from it ; but I must beg his patience if I make a short one from the first folio, not so much that he may see the elegant stuff that it is composed of, as for the purpose to which it shall be applied, by and by.

“ Ceallach *, son of Cormac, ravished a Lagenian
 “ lady of quality, daughter to Solar son of Artcorb, at
 “ her father’s house at Rath Aedha in Leinster ;
 “ sometime after Aongus Gaibuaibnech, passing
 “ through Connaught, went into the house of a wo-
 “ man of the free state of Luigne and forcibly
 “ drank milk there, *ro cait bainde in ar eigin* ; up-
 “ on which she told him he had better revenge
 “ himself on Ceallach for violating his brother So-
 “ lar’s honour, than infringe on the liberty of that
 “ state ; which reproach made so deep an impressi-
 “ on on the mind of Aongus, that he immediately
 “ went home, put on his armour, and after the set-
 “ ting of the sun met Cormac and his son Ceal-
 “ lach, when at one blow he put Ceallach to death
 “ and with his armed elbow struck Cormac blind ;
 “ but the famous *Aicill* performed a cure for his
 “ eye.”

Thus may you see, candid reader, that this famous *Aicill* was, according to the translation of this invaluable MS. both a juriconsult and a physician.
 Yet

* Collect. de rebus Hibernicis, N. 5. p. 10.

Yet be not surprized (and surely you cannot be easily surprized after what you have been reading) when you are told, that *Aicill* is not the name of a *person* but of a *place*; and is no other than KELLs in the county of Meath. And therefore the translator was not far from the sense when he said, in the above long citation, that *AICILL* lived in the environs of *Tara*.

But, if you would rather see this matter cleared up by himself than by me, turn to *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, Vol. II. page 19. There you may read in a Note (which seems to have been written after the foregoing part of No. 5 was printed off) as follows: "The Editor is happy to inform his correspondent C. that in the MSS. of Trinity College Dublin, class E. tab. 3. N. 5. he has found the remaining part of the *blai* *; the book begins thus, *Loc don liubar so Aicill iraiice Teamur, 7 aimsir Coirpri Liffeachair mac Cormac 7 pearsa do Cormac.* i. e. The *place* where this book was written was *AICILL* near *Tara*, in the time of *Carbre Liffeachair mac Cormac* and the person *Cormac*."

Then follows the history of *Ceallach's* adventure, nearly as in the above extract, but with this material difference respecting the cure of *Cormac's* eye; for instead of, "The famous *AICILL* performed a cure for his eye," it is said, *Cormac* was sent to *AICILL* to be cured. Had the translator studied the history (with even as much diligence as he has applied to the language) of Ireland, he could not have made *Aicill* a JURISCONSULT in his version of the first MS. which he discovers to be the name of a PLACE in the last. For does not every history of Ireland, from the *Psalter of Cashel* down to *Keating* and *O'Flaherty*, tell you that *Cormac*, who is represented

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* See above where it was observed: "Here ends the Fragment, so that all the rest of the *BLAI* are wanting, and all that part composed by *Ceanfaela*."

sented as the greatest monarch that ever sat upon the throne, whose wisdom regulated the Fes, and whose historiographers composed the PSALTER of TARA, whose sublime capacity dictated the *Advice to kings*, whose philosophical genius rendered him a pure Theist, and whose religious zeal almost extirpated superstition and idolatry out of the land——this Cormac *long-beard*, I say, whom we have so lately heard celebrated as another Justinian, having lost his eye, in the manner we have seen, and knowing it to be ominous for a mutilated prince to hold the reins of government, voluntarily descended from that throne, which he filled with such lustre (but by the bye his son did not succeed him*), to the enjoyment of learned ease in a small thatched house at *Aicill* †, (i. e. Ceannanus or Kells) in the environs of Tara.

But as persons and places are frequently called by the same name, it will be adding another treasure, to the many wherewith he has already enriched the republic of letters, if the Editor will produce a single document, whether on parchment or paper, in manuscript or print, in quarto or folio, in duodecimo or octavo, where AICILL is mentioned as

* Rex ita oculo Temoriæ privatus, regni fasces Carbreo filio (*licet alius successor unum annum se ingesserat*) in manus tradidit.——Abdicato sceptro, prope Temoriam apud ACOILL, theoreticæ vitæ animum incubuit; ubi, abjectis idolis, *Deum qui fecit omnia*, traditur adorasse. Ogygia, p. 340.

† According to Keating, (who was a Christian priest,) those Pagan priests, the Druids, out of spite for his former opposition to their order, brought this enlightened Theist, to an untimely end, by their forcery and magic. For one night, as he was eating a salmon, they enchanted a bone of it, which stuck in his throat and choaked him; whilst other accounts assert, that the *Druid* MAOL-GEON did, by virtue of his spells and charms, send a number of infernal fiends, who set upon the king and strangled him, as he sat at supper on this fish. P. 282.

as a lawyer or jurifconsult; that octavo always excepted which contains No. 5, *Collect. de rebus Hibernicis*.

This homely retreat of king Cormac, at AICILL or *Kells* in the county of Meath, being, as we have seen, metamorphosed into a lawyer, or jurifconsult, another Trebonianus, puts me in mind of St. *Alban's* CLOAK, which the Scotch writers made a BISHOP of. The story is told by Lloyd, the learned prelate of St. Asaph. St. Alban had, it seems, a warm cloak which he always wore when he went abroad, and therefore, in the Legend of the faint, it is said to have been his constant companion. The legendary appellation for cloak was *Amphibalus*, which Geoffry of Monmouth, a curious and sagacious selector of old fragments, mistook for a proper name, and for the person who was the constant companion of St. Alban. This was enough for Hector Boice *, who then wanted to forge a Caledonian system of Antiquities (as so many of his countrymen have since done); he accordingly got this old cloak, this AMPHIBALUS, ordained and consecrated, and so sent him from Scotland as the first bishop of the *Isle of Man*.

Upon the whole, nothing has yet appeared sufficient to invalidate that position we above laid down, viz. That the Pagan Irish were not a jot more civilized than their neighbours. Nor do we find that the people at large had emerged from their primeval ignorance and rudeness, at the very time their country was dignified with the title of *insula sanctorum & doctorum*. Nay, observable it is, that those worthies, whose eminent abilities obtained for their country this distinguished character, displayed

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their

* Boice latinized into *Boetius*.

their talents, chiefly, in foreign countries *. And this is the more remarkable, as this circumstance seems incidental to Ireland from that day to this.

* “ Ireland, then called *Scotland*, and Scotland known at that time by the name of *Albania* or the country of the Picts, had also received some seeds of Christianity; that were instantly stifled by the idolatry that prevailed. Columbanus the monk, was born in Ireland, in the sixth century; but it appears by his retreat into France, and the monasteries he founded in Burgundy, that those had little to do, and much to apprehend, who sought in England and Ireland for such rich and peaceful establishments as were found in other places under the shelter of religion.” Voltaire’s *Essay on Universal Hist.*

T. S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

TH A T the most westerly nation of Europe should be the last civilized, is in the ordinary course of things ; for as far as we can trace the path of refinement, on our globe, we may mark its progress westward. When the west of Europe was inhabited by various tribes of savages and barbarians, engaged in mutual destruction, the east of it, though addicted to warfare, was cultivating those liberal and humanizing arts, of which it had learned the rudiments still more eastward. Those mild and genial regions, which spontaneously produce at once the necessaries and luxuries of life, gave also birth to civility and philosophy.

The oldest schools of science, with which our literature is acquainted, were the IONIC and ITALIC. *Thales*, master of the former and father of the wise men of Greece, pursued his studies in *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*. *Pythagoras*, founder of the *Italic* sect and author of the very name of *philosopher*, was disciplined in the colleges of the Egyptian and Chaldean priests ; and initiated into the mysteries of the Persian Magi and Indian Bramans.

It is the praise of Moses, the oldest writer we acknowledge, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. The Arundelian Marbles report that the Greeks had their arts, even of agriculture, from that people. They had an oath by Isis, or Ceres, who brought bread corn from Egypt. Herodotus, the father of profane history, when he visited the land of Egypt, could not learn with certainty
(for

(for there were various opinions) who were the builders of the pyramids. And when the great Athenian lawgiver went there for sake of instruction, the Priests said to him, O! Solon, you Grecians are but children. Yet the Egyptians yielded priority of existence to the Phrygians and Scythians. Newton observes, “ that, the Lower Egypt, “ being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was scarcely “ inhabited before the invention of corn, which “ made it useful.” It is, indeed, hard to conceive that a country, which was so much indebted to art, for the first necessities of life, as even the Upper Egypt was, could have grown into a great nation as early as the neighbouring countries, Persia and Chaldea, to say nothing of India and China. There must then be much truth in the Latin verse—
Tradidit Egyptis Babylon, Egyptus Achivis.

All writers, sacred and profane, ascribe to Babel or Babylon, the most early antiquity and the most unrivalled magnificence. It was the capital of Chaldea, the kingdom of Nimrod, that mighty hunter before the Lord, whose chase was conquest, and whose prey was man. In it stood the famous tower of Belus or Ham, by whom, according to Bishop Cumberland (in his *Origines Gentium*), celestial observations began to be made. This circumstance alone presupposes the invention of the mechanic powers, and all those arts which, in the ordinary course of things, are of slow growth, and require a long succession of ages. Sir Isaac Newton admits, that, “ this city was a square of 120 furlongs, or “ 15 miles on every side, compassed first with a “ broad and deep ditch, and then with a wall 50 “ cubits thick, and 200 high.” To which it may be added, that round the walls were pensile gardens, supported by arches, which arose in terraces, one above another, the lowest to the height of the walls. And for the watering of these gardens, machines were contrived to convey the water from the Euphrates,

tes, which flowed through the middle of the city, and force it up by hydraulic engines, in such a number of *jet d'eaux*, as the water-works of Versailles would give but a faint idea of. The effects then of the pressure of the atmosphere must have been there well understood, long before the days of Nebuchadnezzar.

What progress they had made in the fine arts, we cannot ascertain; but that it was considerable, we must conclude, from those images which that great king had set up. If (as is most probable) Persepolis was built in the same style of architecture with Babylon, it must be owned that it fell far short of that beauty, in the proportion of the columns, to which the Greeks afterwards conducted it. But the perfection of any art or science is not attained by first essays. In those manufactures connected with fancy, and whose value depends chiefly on the display of it, the Babylonians must have been great proficient: their silks, tapestries, carpets, embroideries, were celebrated. A single suit of their hangings for a dining parlour, in Rome, cost £6458 6s. 8d. of our money*. Cato had, by inheritance, a Babylonian cloak or mantle, so rich, that, though ashamed to wear it, he was not ashamed to sell it at an immense price. But why talk of such inferior things, when the region of science is before us? That geometry, astronomy and philosophy, were there cultivated with eminent success, we cannot entertain a doubt; for, it has never been controverted, that when this superb city was taken by Alexander the Great, regular tables of celestial observations, for 1903 years, were found in the observatory. And if the name of Chaldean was disgraced by hereditary pretensions to divination, soothsaying, magic, incantations and judicial astrology, this makes no more against the truly learned character

* Universal History.

character of the nation, than it does against the polite accomplishments and solid literature of France, that Paris contains more dancers, tumblers, jugglers, quacks and mountibanks, than any other city in Europe. Such superfetations, rather, evince, that the wombs which discharge them are fruitful, and give also birth to the best conceptions.

The present state of China, now so well authenticated, gives credibility to whatever antiquity has reported of Babylon. The first accounts, we have of this wonderful empire, notice it, as in the same state that it is found at this day; when it is computed to contain more inhabitants than all Europe put together. Now as all great empires are gradually formed out of small states*, what a number of ages must have revolved before it could have grown into that extension of territory, and multitude of subjects, all united under the stable dominion of one head? with one great code of laws, the tendency of which, is to keep up an opinion, that the whole empire makes but one family. This consideration, alone, is sufficient to prove the great antiquity of China. But, if it be true, what is asserted by the missionary Jesuits, that their history is supported by astronomical observations, for above 2000 years before our vulgar æra, who can doubt that the arts and sciences were cultivated there, long before they were thought of in Europe?

No body can be ignorant of the high reputation for wisdom, which the Indian Bramans had obtained, before the age of Alexander. The curious in such researches, pretend to discover all the subtilities and abstractions of modern metaphysics in their principles, and to shew that the opinions of Malbranche and Locke, were not unknown to them.

* Witness France, Spain, Britain, and every other considerable nation, to say nothing of this little island, which was formerly divided and subdivided into several petty kingdoms.

them *. But waving all such nice disquisitions, and without pretending to give the wreath of antiquity to any one of these nations, I would only infer, from that slight survey we have taken of them, that the East is the parental country of the arts and sciences; according to the opinion of him, whoever he was, that said it: *Omnis humanitas ab orientalibus defluxit.*

Yet this conclusion is combated by *Monsieur Bailly* with such force of spirit, such strength of argument, and such a fund of literature, that we could almost wish his hypothesis were a true one. He supposes that the Atlantis of Plato was not a fictitious but a real island, which actually sunk and was swallowed in the ocean; and that from this, or some other northern, but now unknown country, issued those streams of science, which have watered and fertilized the rest of the globe.

He admits however that both Philosophy and Fable have gradually proceeded from the East to the West. He admits, also, that the East is the parent of Fable; but he denies that Science of any sort originated there†. And why? because they have not brought astronomy, and the other sciences, to that pitch of perfection, whereof Europe now boasts. But if a Chinese or Indian were to traverse Europe, what

* Science must be a plant of slow growth in any country. We see for how many centuries the philosophy of Aristotle prevailed in the schools of Europe. What is called the learned world quietly reposes upon the *ipse dixit* of some great Master, till some giant in genius awakes it from its slumber. The history of mathematics points out long intervals between any new discoveries in the relations of quantity; during which the professors are content to understand and expound what has long been known. Your Newtons and Archimedes's are productions which exhaust the fertility of ages.

† Je pense, comme M. de Voltaire, que la philosophie and les fables nous sont venues de l'Orient & des Indes. Nous differons on ce qu'il croit que tout y a été inventé; je regarde la philosophie comme étrangère a ce pays, & les fables comme natives.

what might their surveys report? *Nescio qua dulcedine allicit natale solum*: Now might not this unaccountable affection have hung such a bias on the mind of even the philosophical Monsieur Bailly as he was not aware of? For why else shall all his arguments bend to this hypothetic point, that astronomy was first cultivated in a latitude where the longest day is not less than sixteen hours? Why shall he for this call to his aid a central fire, which, if existent, must be equally diffused, and not peculiar to high latitudes? One would think that the old Philosopher of Ferney was ironical at least, when he tells him that, upon this subject, he had given him more instruction than his kitchen gardener *, notwithstanding the artichokes and asparagus wherewith he had furnished his table in the month of January, when the country was covered with frost and snow, without a single ray of the sun or any artificial fire.

That Ferney was regularly covered with snow in January, I should have no doubt, though it were not so near mount Jura as it is; and though that amiable Tartar, sent to Voltaire, by the Empress of Russia, had not assured him that Jura was not more genial than Caucasus †; but what I doubt is, that though the Ferney gardener did not use artificial FIRE, he was not without artificial HEAT: I am

* Je etais seulement très persuadé qu'il y a par-tout du feu. *Ignis ubique latet, naturam amplectitur omnem*. Les artichauts & les asperges que nous avons mangés cette année au mois de Janvier, au milieu des glaces & des neiges, & qui ont été produits sans qu'un seul rayon du soleil s'en soit mêlé, & sans aucun feu artificiel, me prouvaient assez que la terre possède une chaleur intrinsèque très forte. Ce que vous en dites dans votre neuvième lettre m'a beaucoup plus instruit que mon potager."

† J'ai eu long-tems chez moi un Tartare, fort aimable, envoyé par l'Impératrice de Russie; il m'a dit que le mont Caucase n'est pas plus agréable que le mont Jura. His conclusion however is just, that such climates could never have given birth to Astronomy, &c.

I am persuaded that, without a *hotbed* all their central fires would never have raised either artichokes or asparagus, in that place, at that time.

Not all the eloquence of Monsieur Bailly, enriched with all the stores of ancient and modern learning, can persuade us to do more than admire the fertility of his genius; and to concur, if that had before been necessary, with Cicero, that never was there an opinion so absurd as not to find a patron in some eminent Philosopher. Whilst we read we are carried along at the discretion of this powerful writer; but when we shut the book, we return to the dictates of plain understanding and common sense: we see and we feel that where the nights are very long, they are too cold for an unhoused contemplation of the stars, and therefore conclude that the sidereal science originated in latitudes where the sky is clear, the air serene, and the days generally so hot as to drive the inhabitants to enjoy the coolness of the nights; never too short for such satisfactory inquiries as the times, the places, and distances of the moving and fixed orbs.

In those favoured climes, where the choicest blessings of the earth spontaneous grow, first grew the seeds of Science. There the Bramans, the Chaldees, the Bonzes, the Magi, the Priests of every denomination, the sages of every description, in fine all men of leisure and speculation, would be tempted to the contemplation of the heavens, that firmament so richly studded with twinkling lights. Would they not be the first, under the sweet influences of Pleiades, to be affected by that divine harmony of the spheres, which, though with still voices, pierce the soul, when the morning stars sing together, and all the sons of heaven shout for joy?

Nay, were they not actually the first who taught Pythagoras that system, since, called the Copernican? and that each fixed star is, in like manner, a central sun? From which magnificent view alone, without the
aid

aid of speech or language, we read, in universal characters, that there is no end to the greatness of creative wisdom.

In no Atlantic island, now sunk, in no northern region, now unknown, can we suppose that the seeds of astronomy could have germinated and shot up; for the inclement air would have blasted the infant buds. This exotic required, and acquired, some strength before it was transplanted into our northern soil; where the careful culture of strong and persevering genius has brought it to a degree of perfection, superior to that of the parent stock.

But though it should be admitted that the seeds of all science grew originally in the East, it will be asked how were they disseminated in the West? For not one of those nations, to which we have alluded, were addicted to travel; nor yet to communicate their knowledge: contented with their own country, and hopeless to find any so good elsewhere, they probably despised all other nations. When Alexander sent Onesicratus, a disciple of Diogenes, to visit the Gymnosophists and learn their doctrines, one of them coldly asked him, "why Alexander had taken so long a journey?" Another of them, being pressed to communicate his principles, desired Onesicratus to throw off his garments and come forward in the naked simplicity of nature, as a token that he was divested of prejudice and wished to receive instruction; which when the Cynic declined to comply with, the Indian Sage said: "then you shall hear nothing from me, though you come from Jupiter himself."

This subject having, perhaps, led me too far from home, let me now return and shew how the Eastern arts were communicated to the West. And here the Geography of the countries, and the Greek writers, settle the point with the utmost precision. Syria bordered on Chaldea, and there was so close a connection

a connection between them, that there is but a shade, or two, of difference between the Syriac and Chaldee languages. The whole coast of Syria lying on the Mediterranean, was inhabited by the oldest mercantile people that we read of. Zidon, and her daughter Tyre, not only exported the commodities of the more Eastern countries, but they probably improved upon their arts, both liberal and mechanic; as, we see, is the case of the commercial English at this day. The crimson dye (or Tyrian purple) was celebrated over the world. Homer makes Hecuba offer up a Zidonian mantle to the Gods. The celebrity of Damascus is still retained in the fabricks called *damask*.

That the Phœnicians were the people who taught our continent the use of letters, must at least appear probable to those who have been taught, at school, that it received even its name from Europa the daughter of a Phœnician King. Cadmus was brother to Europa; and to him the Greeks attribute the invention of letters. Diodorus says so expressly; and Herodotus tells us, that the Phœnicians, who came with Cadmus, brought many doctrines into Greece, taught by the Curetes, Corybantes or Cabbyri; who are said to have instructed the Ægyptians.

If the alphabet of this people expressed the vowels, it was an improvement upon the Chaldee. And that they improved, if not invented, the art of numeration and arithmetical figures, we should be inclined to believe, if we had not been told it; for commerce requires registers or account books, which would drive traders to the most facile method of keeping them. The Phœnicians are generally allowed to be the first who ventured out with great fleets into the open seas, steering their course by the north star. Aristotle says that they were the first who, coming to the streights mouth, bartered, with the people of Tartessus, oil for silver; that they
built

built Cadiz, and a temple to Hercules on the point of land since called, after him, the Herculean promontory. Grown rich, with the trade and the mines of Spain, they built Malaga, and planted colonies in Abdera, Carthage, &c. and brought tin from the Cassiterides *.

From these circumstances we may suppose that Britain and Ireland were not unknown either to the Tyrians † or their descendants of Carthage and Cadiz. And from hence arises a glimmering of *Fenius a fair saidhe*, or Phœnius, that learned Sage who taught the Irish their letters—according to their own fabulous accounts—because, forsooth, Phoenix was the brother of Cadmus. But we may carry this matter somewhat farther.

As Cadmus the Phœnician is said to be the first who taught the use of writing, so Cadmus the Milesian was the first who taught the use of writing *in prose*. And, after the Phœnicians, the people of Miletus, in Asia Minor, appear to have had the principal share in civilizing

* The Latin writers only copy what the Greeks had taught.—

Phœnicen illustrare Phœnices, solers hominum genus & ad belli pacisque munia eximium. Literas & literarum operas, aliasque etiam artes, mare navibus adire, classe configere, imperitare gentibus, regnum præliumque commenti. Pomponius Mela.

Phœnices primi famæ si credimus ausi,
Manfuram rudibus vocem signare figuris. Lucan, L. 3.

† This is placed beyond the reach of doubt by the remarkable verses of *Festus Avienus*. (See Sect. 1.)

Ast hinc duobus, in *Sacram*, sic insulam
Dixere prisca, solibus cursus rati est
Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacet
Eamque late gens *Hibernorum* colit
Propinque rursus insula *Albionum* patet.

This poet tells us expressly that he took this description, of the voyage of Himilco the Carthaginian, from the Phœnician annals into which the narrative of it was inserted. That it was known to the Greeks much earlier, we have already intimated from the Argonautics of Orpheus, contemporary with Pisistratus.

civilizing the European nations. Strabo acquaints us that the Milesians applied themselves very early to navigation. According to Pliny they sent out above fourscore colonies; and he says, that "all nations, by tacit consent, adopted the Ionian letters *." Thales (and he was the first who foretold eclipses) was a Milesian, and so was Anaximander and Anaximenes. One of the beautiful orders of architecture was invented by that people.

In the fragments of Scymnus the Chian, who flourished 144 years before the Incarnation, frequent mention is made of the Milesians:

— ὧν δὴ τόπων —
 Ἀρξάει Φινέα του Τυρίου Φοινικῶν: υστέρους
 Χρόνοις κατελσθεῖν ἐξ Ἰωνίας γυλον
 Μιλησίων, καὶ κτίσαι ταυτας τας πολεις. †

Now I am far from asserting that the old Irish are called Milesians from this famous people, who might possibly have sent a colony here; but I conjecture, that some of the Irish writers, reading of the Milesians, as inventors of letters and other useful arts in Europe, might have wished to derive credit from such an original. And this I deem much more likely, than that they are descended from a King of Spain, called Milesius; as no such King ever existed there, or any where else, except in the unlearned brain of some wandering bard or moping monk.

At

* Gentium consensus tacitus primus omnium conspiravit ut Ionum literis uterentur.

Pliny.

† ————— *his locis*
Phineus, Tyro satus, imperasse fertur,
Postea Milesiorum, ex Ionia, classis
Huc appulisse & condidisse hæc oppida.

At the same time, still farther be it from me to deny my assent to the tradition, that a Scythian people, coming last from Spain, did settle here at a very early period. On the contrary, there is firm ground for persuasion, that a very considerable intercourse did formerly subsist between Spain and Ireland. That the Goths, and other Scythian nations, had taken possession of different parts of Spain, at very different periods, is well authenticated. We are told by Orosius, who flourished in the fourth century, that the Scythians, expelled from Gallicia in Spain by Constantine the Great, took shelter in Ireland; where they found the country already under the dominion of their countrymen the Scyths or Scots.

SECT.

S E C T. V.

TIMES have, with great propriety, been divided into the unknown, the fabulous and historical ; yet it may be doubted whether that arrangement would exactly apply to the case of Ireland ; for that obscure period, we have undertaken to illustrate, is in some respects evidently fabulous, and in others strictly historical. We shall therefore, by way of compounding the matter, call it the *legendary* period ; reserving the title of historical for the times connected with the English revolution. And, unless the foregoing sections have been written in vain, the reader will agree with me in calling the times before our vulgar æra utterly *unknown* : From thence, to the planting of Christianity in the fifth century, I would limit the fabulous period, during which Conal, Cuculand, Morni, Boiskene, Finn, Ossian, Oskar, &c. are the redoubted heroes of the poet's song.

In this procedure, so repugnant to that of those modern writers, who are most copious on those times which I consider as either unknown or fabulous, it affords me some consolation that Primate Usher and Sir James Ware * went into the same
F opinion :

* *Perexiguam superesse notitiam rerum in Hibernia gestarum ante exortam ibi Evangelii auroram liquido constat.*

Ware de Ant. Hib.

And that this was Usher's opinion is evident from his recommending Ware's book as a supplement to what he himself had written. His words are : " Interim dum nos, persoluto hoc,
quod

opinion: Because a coincidence with such authorities may stand in place of argument with some, who have neither leisure nor inclination to examine facts and weigh the *momentum* of probability.

That the religion of the ancient Irish, till near the middle of the fifth century, was Druidical, we have traditional testimonies; and presumptive arguments are not wanting to persuade us, that Cæsar's account of the Druidism of Gaul may be safely applied to that of Ireland. This polite writer reports, from tradition, that the discipline of the Druids originated in Britain. In confirmation of which opinion he observes, that such as aspired to the most intimate acquaintance with its mysteries repaired to Britain for instruction.* That this was the case seems more probable, than that Britain was peopled from Gaul; for it is not in the ordinary course of nature that the mother should go scholar to the daughter.

The affinity of customs, manners, and language, was probably, what led Cæsar and other great names to allege, that Britain was first peopled from Gaul, and then Ireland from Britain. But convert these propositions, and those affinities will afford arguments full as conclusive, that Gaul was peopled from Britain, and Britain from Ireland. This much is certain, if any thing on the subject can be certain, that, dispose of the question of primogeniture as you please (which after all is but a
nugatory

quod patriæ & civibus nostris deberi a nobis existimabamus officio, de Hebræorum, Græcorum Romanorumque aliorumque gentium temporibus antiquioribus digerendis cogitationem suscipimus; a D. Jacobo Waræo Dubliniensi, equite aurato & regii apud nos ærarii Rationali dignissimo, Hiberniæ nostræ annales, una cum patriorum scriptorum catalogo, *e quibus eorum quæ hac in parte desiderantur non exiguum pete poterit supplementum*, benevolus lector expectabit. Brit. Eccles. Ant. 503.

* Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur, & nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.

Cæsar.

nugatory question) the concessions of British writers afford a stronger presumption than even the pretensions of the Irish, that Ireland was not only the more ancient nation, but that Druidism, if Stonhenge be a Drudical remain, was more early in Ireland than Britain, and that Britain imported it from Ireland.

We must either say nothing on this subject (*pro* or *con*) or we must give some credit to fable. Fable preserves tradition, and without tradition we could know nothing of the most early times. In the case before us we have as strong evidence, as the nature of the thing will afford, from British concession. What I allude to is the voice of tradition from the fifth century, when Merlin came into Ireland, down to Geoffry of Monmouth in the twelfth; after whom Necham wrote the following poem upon the origin of STONEHENGE:

Nobilis est lapidum structura, Chorea gigantum,
 Ars experta suum posse peregit opus.
 Hoc opus ascribit Merlino garrula fama
 Filia figmenti fabula vana refert.
 Illa congerie fertur decorata fuisse
 Tellus quæ mittit tot Palamedis aves,
 Hinc tantum munus suscepit *Hibernia* gaudens,
 Nam virtus lapidi cuilibet ampla satis.
 Uther Pendragon molem transvexit ad Ambri
 Fines, devicto victor ab hoste means.

The Giants dance, the ever famous pile,
 Where deepest art hath shewn her noblest skill.
 Old stories this ascribe to Merlin's spells,
 And prating Fame the mighty wonder tells.
 At first the monstrous work in Scythia stood,
 Thence joyful Ireland took the happy load.
 Renown'd Pendragon, from the conquered isle,
 Remov'd to Amber's plains, this wondrous pile.

Such is the fable of the origin of that marvellous work! But, as this is a fable, it should, like other fables, have its moral; at which we shall, by and by, offer a conjecture. But first let us hear the motives assigned for erecting this fabrick, where its ruin now

stands. It is said by Geoffry of Monmouth (an author not more respectable than our Geoffry Keating) that, at a council held, by Ambrosius king of the Britons, how they should perpetuate the memory of those British nobles, who were treacherously murdered by the Saxons, at a conference held in Salisbury plain, it was suggested by Merlin the prophet, that, when in Ireland, he had seen the rarest sight that could be seen in so rude a country, *round rows of huge stones*; particularly, in the plains of Kildare, he had seen one so framed as surpassed all human skill: send for this, says he, and set it up as it now stands, and it will be a monument whilst the world standeth. To repeat is to confute the absurdity of this ridiculous tale *. There can be little doubt, that this structure must have stood there, not only long before Merlin, but before the introduction of Christianity into Britain; nay, before the Romans set foot in the land.

However, innumerable circles of upright stones (which may be considered as *Stonehenges* in miniature) still remain in Ireland, though much industry (more than is customary for better purposes) has been employed, even in my own memory, to remove every vestige of them, in those parts with which I am best acquainted.

This being premised, the explication of our fables moral, may be simply this: Merlin, who was a very learned man for his time (a time when the ancient heathen religion of both islands was less altered in Ireland than in Britain), had related to his countrymen,—whose very Paganism had been refined by their Roman conquerors, and whose religion then partook more of Christianity than that of the Irish,
among

* Yet according to Giraldus, in his topography, *fuit antiquis temporibus in Hibernia lapidum congeries admiranda, quæ & chorea gigantum dicta fuit.*

among whom the Gospel had been but recently preached,—this Merlin, I say, related to the Britons, what he had seen, and what he had heard, in Ireland. In Ireland, he had seen circles of upright stones, like those of STONEHENGE: and in Ireland he had learned that the fashion of these erections, and the rites and ceremonies of the worship belonging to them, as open temples of their Gods, had originated in Scythia, from whence the Irish derive their descent, and that the Britons had borrowed this mode of religion, whatever it was, from them.

Now, the five colonies, the Partholan, the Nemedian, the Firbolgian, the Danan and the Milesian, which are said to have successively possessed themselves of Ireland, were all Scythian, and the Aborigines are said to have been Celts. So that, considering the nation as a mixed breed, of both Celts and Scyths, it is more than probable that Druidism was the religion of Ireland before Christianity as tradition says it was. It does not follow, because Cæsar's authority opposes the opinion that one Scythian tribe, the German, had Druids*, that therefore all the rest should want them; especially as Tacitus, though he does not expressly mention them as belonging to the Germans, yet describes them in such a manner, that it must be left to the reader

* *Cæsar*, after describing the customs of the Gauls, thus expresses himself. “Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt nam neque Druides habent qui rebus divinis presint neque sacrificus student: Deorum numero eos solos dueunt, quos cernunt & quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem & Vulcanum & Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.” Which is in all respects opposite to what *Tacitus* reports: “Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus litare fas habent & Herculem & Martem concessis hostiis placent.” So that from hence, and what we have set down above, it must appear that the religion of the Gauls and Germans was pretty much the same, and Druidical. And here Tacitus is far better authority, as he wrote professedly on the manners of the Germans, and Cæsar only incidentally, from some reports hastily credited after a few days on the German borders.

reader, whether what he says may not be applied to them. “Sunt illis quoque carmina quorum relatu, quem *Barditum* vocant, accendunt animos futuræque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur.” Bardship is so nearly related to Druidism, that they have, in old times, been confounded together by some writers;* and, here, these *bardic* verses are evidently connected with the influences of superstition. But, in the following description of their religious tenets, is not an allusion to these open temples (we have been speaking of) plainly made? “Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur. Iucos ac NEMORA consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.” If this be not an accurate description of Druidism, I have hitherto lived in ignorance of the matter.

Yet Mr. Pinkerton asserts that, “they who speak of Druids in Germany, Caledonia, or Ireland, speak utter nonsense, † and have not a single authority

* Apud omnes Celtas tria sint hominum genera passim in honore. Bardi, viz. qui laudationibus, rebusque poeticis student; et vates, qui sacrificiorum, causarumque naturalium curæ sunt dediti; et Druidæ, qui præter causarum naturalium studia etiam moralem philosophiam exercent. Hi omnium justissimi censentur. Immortales animas esse statuunt, et mundum; tamen aliquando ignem & aquam superatura. Strabo, p. 37.

Cæsar attributes to the Druid those three offices ascribed by Strabo to the Bard, the Priest and the Druid. But I cannot see how the Priest's office at the sacrifice can be separated from the sacred character of Druid (every where impressed upon us), and Cæsar is express that they used the Druids as Priests at the immolation of human sacrifices. See Cap. 16.

† There is a wide difference between error, or even ignorance, and nonsense. Except in subjects capable of strict demonstration it is not easy to reduce every erroneous opinion to the low level of nonsense. And the writer who talks of the *bottom of a surface* should be more cautious how he flings that opprobrious term. Mr. P. would be more persuasive if he were less dogmatical.

“ authority to support them.” Mr. Selden, however, a man not very open to the inroads of nonsense, gives an authority for his opinion, that even the Goths had their Druids, as well as the Celts. But, says Mr. Pinkerton, “ Druidic antiquities there can be none, except there be any oak trees two thousand years old.” It may be so! Yet Tacitus observes that the Germans had their consecrated groves and oaks; which he allows belonged to the Druids. But he adds, “ those (antiquities) chiefly called Druidic, were all Gothic:” which is a sort of antithesis I cannot see the force of, because those open temples might have been at once Gothic and Druidic; and I am warranted by Tacitus in supposing that the Germans might have had their circles of upright stones by way of temples, *though they did not shut up their Gods in stone walls.* As to those rude colonnades, or stone-henges in miniature, of which so many still remain in Ireland, he need not envy the Celts the erection of some of them: and to insist upon it, so sanguinely that they are all Gothic and not Druidic, is not a whit more logical than to insist, that a presbyterian kirk in the north of Ireland is not a religious, but a Scottish, edifice. Nor is the matter mended by the following: “ The Celts had no monuments any more than the savage Americans and Samoides. The God *Baal, Bell or Belenus*, the transmigration of souls; their cosmogony and theogony, are wholly Phœnician; what their own mythology was we know not; but it in all probability, resembled that of the Hottentots, or others of the rudest savages, as the Celts anciently were, and are little better at present, being incapable of any progress in society.”

My learned friend, appears to me here, and elsewhere, in his valuable Dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians or Goths, in a situation very parallel to that of Pasquali, in Hogarth's enraged musician. Having seen the error of Cluverius

rius, Pelloutier and other learned men, (in confounding together the Celts and Goths, as the same people), elegantly confuted by the ingenious pen of the candid Dr. Percy * ; and after looking round upon so many recent republications of *their* mistakes (which even Mr. Toland and Dr. Parsons have rejected), he loses all temper, and vents the fulness of his indignation, against the poor unoffending CELTS.†

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that if the Celts of Ireland had their Druids, like their brethren in Gaul, and if those Irish Druids, had any peculiar tenets, we know nothing of them; for it was not the custom of that high order of men to commit their sacred dogmas to writing, nay it was death for them to do so. Their mysteries were, after a long noviciate, intrusted to those only who were initiated, and who were obliged to get them by

* In his preface to Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, and in his notes to the translation *passim*.

† But where or when the Celts have proved so deficient in either the arts of war or peace I am yet to learn. Nay if this were a place to go deep into the question it might be shewn that the nations of the Celtic race, were in old times most distinguished for works of genius. The most ancient colonies in Italy were Celts; and the mass of the natives, all over France, are so to this day, as the very persons of the people evince; notwithstanding the admixture of the conquering Franks and Normans. The Scythian nations have, at all times, been characterized by light hair, fair complexion, blue eyes, tall stature and large limbs. Do these traits appear prominent in the features of the French nation, now justly esteemed one of the most ingenious and sagacious on the earth? These are internal evidences which overpower all construction of passages, from even the most ancient writers. I can see but little use in history, unless like experiments in physicks, it be applied to philosophical purposes. If scepticism be any where allowable it should be in questions so obscure and so unimportant, that if to be right can obtain but little praise, to be wrong should inflict no great disgrace. Not very solicitous whether originally a Goth or a Celt, I shall only say with Cicero, upon another occasion, *harum sententiarum quæ vera sit Deus aliquis viderit*.

by heart, and retain them in memory. And he was deemed the ablest theologist among them who was most prompt and ready in recollecting the greatest number of these verses.

But this will not satisfy our Antiquaries of modern date. Dr. Parsons, not the least learned of them, tells you expressly : “ The Druids of the Continent “ never committed their mysteries to writing, but “ taught their pupils *memoriter* ; whereas, those of “ IRELAND, the *Scottish* Druids, wrote theirs.” Mr. Toland gives into the same opinion * and both agree respecting the fact, that hundreds of the Druidical books were committed to the flames by St. Patrick ; but they disagree in their reflections on this event ; Toland laments that conflagration, as a catastrophe most fatal to the literature of Ireland ; whilst the more pious Parsons applauds the zeal of the Irish apostle, in demolishing the works of Pagan superstition.

Having already discovered the inclination of my opinion, respecting the literature of the Irish in Heathenish times, I shall here only add, what the light of those bonfires, which St. Patrick made of the Druidical books, has suggested to me. After first observing what Mr. O’Conor admits, that writing on parchment or paper, was not in use in Ireland before St. Patrick, who with the Latin letters introduced that improvement in writing : and that Col. Vallancey instructs us, that, “ the material on which the Pagan “ Irish wrote, was tables of the birch and beech “ tree, made even by a plane, and inscribed by an “ iron pencil or style.”

They

* Yet in another place (so inconsistent are the reveries of fiction!) aware of the objections that would lie against his promised history of the Druids, he fairly gives up this point in the following words : “ The custom, therefore, or rather cunning of the Druids, *in not committing their rites or doctrines to writing*, has not deprived us (as some may be apt to imagine) of sufficient materials to compile their *History*. Hist. of the Druids Section XIV.

They say that the form of the letters of the old Irish alphabet, (no matter whether called *Ogam*, or *Feadhab*; or *Ogam craobh*, or *Ogam col*, or *Ogam consain*, for there are three *Ogams*; nor yet, whether it be called *Bobeloth* by FORCHERN, who lived before our vulgar æra), I maintain it, that *they say* the old Irish letters were of a crabbed, intricate and complicated form; and if so, the writing, or rather engraving, them on a board, must have been so operose and difficult, that many lines would require much time and labour. At least, it could not be favourable to historic purposes; nor could book-making (and scribbling as I do) be as frequent as in after times, during the use of parchment, pen, ink and paper: which, by the way, had its advantages, for then the learned world could not have been pestered with so many bad books as at present.

However, as there were 136 Pagan monarchs of all Ireland, and as each of these had not only his bard but his historian, something must not only have been sung, but said. For why did these honourable state officers inherit near a third of the whole kingdom, but, that they might record the worthy achievements of the monarch, and transmit his name to posterity, as a shining example of his courage in war, his wisdom in peace, and his virtues every where? Those venerable MSS. must at least have given sketches of battles, of sieges, of defeats, of victories, of transmarine expeditions to Britain, to Gaul, and to the foot of the Alps, where thunder-struck great DATHY fell. Armorica, Dalriada, the Picts, the Attacotti, the Partholanians, the Nemedians, the Fir-bolgians, and those force-rers the Tuath de Danans, must have swelled the page, to say nothing of the voyages, adventures and travels of the Milesians, “ from Egypt to Crete, “ from Crete to Scythia, from Scythia to Gothland, “ from Gothland to Spain, from Spain back to “ Scythia, from Scythia to Egypt, from Egypt to “ Thrace,

“ Thrace, from Thrace to Gothland, from Gothland to Spain, and from Spain to Ireland *.”

The most simple and unadorned detail of these important, and memorable things, must have engaged much of the historian's labour, in committing them to the boards, with his iron style. And as he was so well rewarded for his pains, can we doubt that he infused the very soul of history into such a fine body of matter? Discovering the secret springs of action, and portraying the characters of the competitors for the throne, and the succession to it, in the choice of *Roidamna*. For in a constitution so nicely balanced, (where the crown was hereditary in the family, and elective in the person of one royal race,) it must needs be, that human frailty might have prevailed, on some of the blood royal, to oppose the maxim *detur digniori*; whence broils and cabals, intrigues and factions, civil wars and fightings might arise and pervert the best of institutions into the worst; so that the strong and bloody hand might, in some cases, decide every thing, and by this logic of kings, it might be argued, that the most virtuous of princes, was unworthy of the throne on which he sat, and that he should yield it to the pretensions of his more vicious, but more potent successor; to the exclusion of the *roidamna* himself.

Unless these circumstances had been judiciously and impartially set forth, these wooden archives, these august monuments, these venerable MSS. could not have obtained that rich panegyric, of *containing treasures*. But in whatever manner they may have been set forth, it would require a multitude of books to record, even the *genealogies* of such a long line of Heathen monarchs; not one of which, could with any degree of propriety, stop short of the third son of Noah. And if we are to judge from the catalogue

* Keating *verbatim*.

logue of contents, given by Lhuyd, of the book of *Lecan*, (so lately returned from its long visit at Paris,) the genealogies must have been copious indeed, for there we have that of *our Lady* and *Joseph*, in full.

Each of the provincial kingdoms, must have had a succession of about the same number of kings and *thanists* and, though the occasions might be different, the causes were in all of them the same, for exercising the genius of the poets and historians. And the fact we find to be, that the transactions of the kingdoms of north and south Munster, (in after times at least,) are more circumstantially recorded, than those of the monarchy itself. The number of kingdoms in Ireland, when heathenish, could not have been fewer than after it became Christian; when there were the kingdoms of Meath, of Breffny, of Conaught, of Cork, of Kerry, of Limerick, of Leinster, of O'Phaly, of Tir-oen, of Ul-lagh, (the refractory kings whereof, the O'Heoghy's always claimed independence, and refused tribute to O'Nial king of Ulster.)——But Mr. O'Connor saves me the trouble of going farther, upon memory, for the enumeration of the kingdoms of Ireland, for he tells us, that Hugony the Great, at one political stroke, set aside the pentarchy, and parcelled out the kingdom into 25 dynasties, a dynasty for each of his 25 sons.

It must by this time be evident, that among a people so learned as the Heathen Irish, the histories of so many monarchs and kings, might have been sufficient to furnish out a handsome library, independent of their codes of laws, and the WRITTEN MYSTERIES of the *Druids*. And as books are made up of leaves, and as each leaf was a board, a single *volume* must have been rather bulky; though the historians might not have been as diffusive as lord Clarendon, nor yet as minute as lord Lyttelton. Of course 300 books of the *Druids*, though they might have

have been thinner than the rest, as they contained SECRETS, could not but make a conspicuous blaze, when burned by St. Patrick; especially as they must have been kept in some very dry library. They talk, however, of but one bonfire, as if our zealous Apostle, had collected these Satanic productions from every quarter of so many flourishing kingdoms in Ireland, to heap them upon one pile. No, we rather think that he burned them wherever he found them, 300 in one place, 180 in another, and so on.

A difficulty, it must be owned, here arises, to account for it, satisfactorily, how so many books of such perishable substances, as beech and birch, some of which must have been near 1800 years old, could have escaped being worm-eaten. Now had the tablets been of cedar, or even of Irish oak, we could have trod on this scruple with perfect ease; but happily Mr. Toland comes to our assistance, and tells us that one of these books was preserved in fear-cloth, down to the 16th or 17th century (for I forgot which), when it was in the possession of *Dudley Forbes*, or *Mac-Firbis*, of the family of those hereditary antiquaries of the county of *Sligo*, whom Mr. O'Connor mentions with such merited respect.

A captious caviller might ask:—How could such books, even if their leaves had been of cedar, have been so long protected from the common injuries of time and weather? For the Druid temples were open every way, and the Heathen Irish, from the highest to the lowest, lived in the poorest clay huts. But this is easily answered: antiquity and architecture are not necessarily connected*.

There

* “Government is every where antecedent to records, and letters seldom come in amongst a people, till a long continuation of civil society has, by other more necessary arts, provided for their safety

There is no analogy or relationship between the arts, vulgarly, called the *fine sisters*—poetry and music, may be brought to the most perfect excellence, in countries where a painter or statuary was never seen, or perhaps ever heard of; and so may philosophy, legislation and history, be at their meridian, before a stone-mason ever handled a trowel in it. Besides, I ask, could not the castle of Emania, so panegyricized by Mr. O'Connor, for its architectonic magnificence, or could not the palace of Tara, built upon three towers, suffice to contain and preserve all the wooden MSS. that were ever written here, in Pagan times? Whoever doubts this may consult No. 12. Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, where he may see the plan of the common eating-hall of Tamar, nicely engraved, by an Irish artist.

safety, ease and plenty. And then they begin to look after the history of their founders, and search into their ORIGINAL, when they have out-lived the memory of it. For it is with *nations* as with particular persons, they are commonly *ignorant* of their own *births* and *infancies*. And, if they do know any thing of their original, they are beholden for it, to the accidental records, that others have kept of it."

These are the words of Mr. Locke, upon the noblest of all subjects; a vindication of the rights of human nature. But they apply to the case before us; and, by marking the progress of the arts, reprobate that prematurity of historic documents, attributed to Ireland, in Heathen times.

S E C T. VI.

IT is generally supposed, that St. Patrick was the first who preached the Gospel in Ireland. Yet we find that Albe, Declan, Ibar and Kieran were his predecessors in that great and good work. The annals of Ulster, one of our most authentic documents of antiquity, has these words in the first paragraph: “Anno ab incarnatione Domini 431, “Palladius ad Scotos, a Cœlestino, urbis Romæ “Episcopo ordinatus Episcopus, Ætio & Valerio “consulibus, primus mittitur in Hiberniam.” I set down these words as I found them in the British Musæum, because I see in a book intitled *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*, lately published, Extracts from the Annals of Ulster in the British Musæum, in which the foregoing paragraph is thus translated: “A. D. 431 *Palladius came to SCOTLAND.*”

Now it is well known that Ireland is the ancient *Scotia*, and that its inhabitants were called *Scots* from the third century down to the fifteenth.

Porphyry, a Greek philosopher of the third century, is the first who mentions the name of the *Scots*, and he speaks of them as a people not living in Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus was the first Latin writer in which the word *Scoti* is to be found: He says that they came from Cantabria in Spain, whence they migrated into Ireland, and at length settled in Scotland*. Orosius in his history, written A. D. 417, says, Ireland was inhabited by
the

* Stephanus on the article *Scoti*.

the Scots. Prosper, in about twenty years after Orosius, calls Ireland the *barbarous* island inhabited by the Scots, in opposition to Britain, which he styles the *Roman* island. Gildas, A. D. 564, calls the same people, sometimes Scotch and sometimes Irish. Isidore, A. D. 620, says that Scotia is the same with Hibernia. Cogitofus, in his life of St. Brigid, says, that Kildare was the safest retreat in all the island of the Scots. Jonas, who wrote the life of St. Columb, after acquainting us, that he was born in *Ireland*, says, *this island the Scots inhabit*. Another of his biographers, Adamnanus, A. D. 680, says, that he sailed out of *Scotland* into *Britain*. Bede, whose history was written about fifty years after, calls Ireland the country of the Scots, using promiscuously *Scotia* & *Hibernia* for the same place, which he also calls the island of Scotland. And to this century is referred, by A. B. Usher, the following authority of St. Donatus, bishop of Fesulæ, who wrote the acts of St. Brigid in elegiac verse.

Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus
 Nomine & antiquis Scotia scripta libris.
 Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis & auri
 Commoda corporibus aere, sole solo.
 Melle fluit, pulchris et lacteis, Scotia, campis
 Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris:
 Urforum rabies nulla est ibi; sæva leonum
 Semina nec unquam Scotica terra tulit;
 Nulla venena nocent nec serpens serpit in herba
 Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu,
 In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur
 Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.
 De qua nata fuit quondam sanctissima virgo
 Brigida, Scotorum gloria, nomen, honor.

Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame,
 By Nature blest, and *Scotia* is her name ;
 An island rich, exhaustless in her store
 Of veiny silver and of golden ore ;
 Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
 With gems her waters, and her air with health ;
 Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow,
 Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow ;
 Her waving furrows float with bearded corn,
 And arms and arts her envied sons adorn.
 No savage bear with lawless fury roves,
 Nor fiercer lion, through her sacred groves ;
 No poison there infects, no scaly snake
 Creeps through the grass, nor frog annoys the lake.
 An island worthy of its pious race,
 In war triumphant, and unmacht in peace.
 From hence the holy Brigid's line we trace,
 The virgin glory of the Scottish race.

Another authority occurs much more ancient, and not less conclusive, though it has not, to my knowledge, been applied to this purpose. It is that of Symmachus who wrote his *Epistles* in the fourth century, and speaks of "Seven Scotch Dogs, brought over in cages, which were prodigiously admired at Rome, the day before the plays began." Now can we doubt that those dogs, then called Scotch, were any other than *Irish* wolf dogs?

That Ireland was the ancient Scotland, has never been denied till our days. Mr. M'Pherson was the first who asserted the contrary. Several Scots writers of the two last centuries had, indeed, from the ambiguity of the name, asserted many particulars, honourable to the Scots, as peculiar to the present Scotland, which belonged only to the ancient, or Ireland. Dempster led the van, who being a man of much reading, more vanity, and still greater want of judgment, has so jumbled circumstances as to publish a book in order to prove, that the learned and religious men of Ireland, so renowned in story under the name of Scots, belonged to his native country.

try. And the better to carry on the deception, he sent Philip Ferrarius a collection of Scottish worthies to enrich the Roman Martyrology. But this learned Italian soon discovered the imposture, and prefixed an advertisement to his book, wherein he warned the reader, that “ taking other writers for
 “ his guide, he had made some of the Irish Saints
 “ natives of Scotland. The cause of which was, his
 “ being deceived in the name ; Ireland being, in old
 “ times, called Scotland and the Irish *Scots*, of
 “ which I thought proper to admonish you, that you
 “ may be aware of certain Saint-stealers :” by which coarse character he branded Dempster. A late French author expresses the same idea more courteously. “ Il crut faire honneur a sa patrie en faisant
 “ naitre dans son sein une foule d’ecrivains etrangers,
 “ et il s’en fit tres peu a lui-meme. The only harsh expression in Archbishop Usher’s book is vented against this man. “ Tam suspectæ fidei hominem
 “ illum comperimus fuisse & toties tesseram fregisse,
 “ ut oculatos nos esse testes oporteat, et nisi quod
 “ videmus, nihil ab eo acceptum credere.”

But all the Scots writers before Dempster, are so far from denying the Irish extraction of the present Scots, that they seem to glory in it: “ It is
 “ by many arguments certain,” says John Major,
 “ that we owe our origin to the Irish.” “ This we
 “ may learn from the language, for even at this day,
 “ one half of Scotland speaks Irish, and a few years
 “ ago, a greater proportion spoke the same language.
 “ The Scots brought their speech from Ireland into
 “ Britain, as our annals testify ; the writers of which,
 “ have shewn a laudable diligence in these matters.
 “ I say therefore, that from whomsoever, the Irish
 “ draw their origin, the Scots derive from the same ;
 “ not immediately indeed, but as a grandson from a
 “ grandfire :” to the same purpose speak Fordun, Boetius, M’Kenzie, Elphinstone, Buchannan, Innes, &c.

James

James the I. in his speech delivered before the Irish agents, at the Council-table in Whitehall, boasts of the Scottish Dynasty being derived from that of Ireland. “ I have two reasons to be careful of the welfare of that people:—first, as King of England, by reason of the long possession the Crown of England hath had of that land; and also as King of Scotland; for the ancient Kings of Scotland are descended of the Kings of Ireland.” Conformably to which opinion, universally received at that time, Slaytyr in his *Palai-Albion* compliments this Monarch on his Irish pedigree:

At quoniam Arctoo Scotico rex noster ab orbe,
Nec minus occiduus, perhibent, Scotus ortus Hibernis
Qui Britonum parent sceptris;—mihi pauca recensens,
Musa age, et Ogygios lernes referato colonos.

But I shall not oppress the reader with more citations at present, as the sequel will occasionally introduce many more, to the establishment of this cardinal point. Let it, however, be in the meanwhile observed, that Primate Usher has given it as his opinion (*Brit. Eccles. Ant. Cap. 16.*) that no author can be produced who ever gave the name of *Scotia* to Albany, which is the present Scotland, before the 10th century. And we observe, that since his time not all the diligence of the M’Kenzies, the Sibalds, and the M’Phersons, has been able to produce a single authority to invalidate the opinion of that most learned writer; notwithstanding the many insidious attempts which they have made to avail themselves of the ambiguity of the name of *Scotia*, in order to transplant certain Irish worthies into their own Albanian territories.

The translation then of the above paragraph from the *Annals of Ulster* is plainly this: “ A. D. 431,
“ when Ætius and Valerius were Consuls, Palladius
“ being ordained a Bishop by Cælestine Bishop of
G 2 Rome,

“ Rome, was first sent to the Scots of Ireland.” To the very same purpose writes Nennius, the oldest British writer on this subject, who adds that, “ Palladius went from Ireland and came into Britain “ and died there in the land of the Picts.” His death happened within a year after his legation from Rome ; yet to him the modern Scots attribute the conversion of their ancestors.

Keating observes that Palladius, after making some profelytes, was fain to fly the kingdom to save his life from the violence of a Prince of Leinster, a pagan bigot, who opposed his mission. And this is confirmed by Probus in his life of St. Patrick. “ Pal-
“ ladius had been sent, before Patrick, by Cælestine to
“ convert the island of the Scots, but those wild and
“ fierce people would not receive his doctrine ; on
“ which he crossed the sea and died, as he arrived
“ on the confines of the Picts.”

This, however, did not damp the zeal of St. Patrick : for the above annals, and all other accounts, place his coming to Ireland to convert the natives A. D. 432. He was no stranger to the country and its language, having spent several years of his youth there in captivity, into which he had been brought by the monarch Nial, the renowned hero of the nine hostages ; who in one of his expeditions to Armorica, now Bretagne, spoiled the country, and as was the barbarous custom of those times, carried away two hundred children, among whom was our young Saint, then sixteen years of age, together with his sisters Lupida and Darerca.

The birth place of Patrick, like that of other eminent men, has been much disputed. But as to his family, all are agreed. One of his biographers makes him say of himself, “ *ingenuus fui secundum*
“ *carnem;*” and from this circumstance of blood (to the pride of which he appears not to have been insensible) it is argued, that he obtained the name
of

of *Patricius*. Yet a Monk of Glastonbury derives his name from his paternal relation the to churches he had planted :

*Sonat Patricius jam pater civium
Muktorum civium & pater plebium,
Hiberniensium & Glastoniensium,
Sortitus merito tale vocabulum."*

That he was nephew to St. Martin of Tours has not been contradicted. In the Cloister of St. Pierre at Aix is a three-quarter length picture of him with the following inscription : *Sanctus Patricius oppidi Ardmachani conditor filius ex sorore Sancti Martini Tyronensis*. Nor is it less certain, that his father was Calphurnius a deacon, who was son to Potitus a priest. So that, in that age, the Celibacy of Priests had not been introduced.

The second century, indeed, produced the rigid sect of the Ascetics, who lived in solitude, and macerated their bodies by watching, fasting, and labouring with their hands, in full expectation of the full enjoyment of Heaven, by their abstinence from flesh, wine and women. And from hence originated those various forms of monastic life, which in process of time overspread Christendom.

Before our Saint's day, several orders had been instituted. The Office of the Canons regular of Lateran recites, that he lived under their rule. But Probus says, that he received the Monks habit from his uncle St. Martin, who is reckoned among the first founders of monasteries, and the first writer of Rules for their discipline. Marianus Scotus says, that he was consecrated a Bishop, and made Primate of Ireland by Cælestin.

Another ancient writer* relates that " Patrick continued eighteen years under the discipline of " St. German and was the most excellent of all " his scholars. The godly Bishop, observing his

* Henricus Antifiodorensis.

“ his magnanimous virtue and eminent learning,
 “ deemed it unmeet that such an husbandman
 “ should be lost to the vintage of the church ;
 “ and that he might be employed in the work of
 “ propogating the Gospel, for which he discovered
 “ such ardent zeal, he recommended him to Pope
 “ Cælestine. Approved of, blessed and authorized
 “ by his holiness, he took his way to Ireland and
 “ became the Apostle of the nation.”

The good man was probably directed to this country from that affection he had contracted for the people ; who must have treated him kindly during his captivity amongst them. But these and such like things, I neither affirm nor deny ; for, be they decided whichever way they may, they can be of no great importance here, as they belong only to the individual ; nor is it, at this day, very material to ascertain whether he was sent a missionary from Rome or not *. However, he came over attended, some say by twelve, and others by thirty, coadjutors ; with whom he associated the proselytes made by Palladius. And Albe, Declan, Kieran and Ibar, at length yielding the pre-eminence to Patrick, joined cordially with him in the work of the Christian ministry.

Above threescore books are said to have been written concerning the virtues of St. Patrick, most of which perished, during the domination of the Ostmen, in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. But more still remain than are entitled to entire credit. For ill would it become the close of the eighteenth century to give even an epitome of his extraordinary acts, his visions, his prophecies, and his interviews with angels. Yet it should never be forgotten that such things are handed down, as these records at once mark the manners of the times in which

* Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio.

which they were written, and shew what fordid notions of Christianity were entertained by those pious but credulous zealots, who penned them *.

His biographers thought they could never do him honour enough, and seldom stop short of the most stupenduous miracle. But from this disgraceful mass of fiction we can easily gather, that one of the first things he set about was to teach the natives to read, that they might be able to search those scriptures, which his preaching assured them contained the words of eternal life. Nennius asserts that he wrote out 365 alphabets, that he ordained 365 bishops, and founded 365 churches.

The fondness of some ancient writers, to round their relations by the precise number of the days of the year, should not altogether invalidate the general truth of their testimony; nor should it impeach the history of St. Patrick, that its unlearned writers have interspersed it with miracle and blemished it by fable. Livy abounds with prodigies, yet Livy is the Prince of historians; we laugh at the tale of Castor and Pollux, fighting on white horses in favour of the Romans against the Gauls, yet we respect the authority of Dionysius; and Echard delivers a very formal story of a contract, made between Oliver Cromwell and the Devil, the night before the battle of Worcester.

We can have no doubt that St. Patrick introduced the use of the Latin letters into Ireland, that he ordained many Bishops, founded many churches, and instituted monastic rules for both males

* The *Florilegium Insule Sanctorum*, seu *Vite & Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, presents such a garland as could not have been gathered but in a very rank and uncultivated soil indeed. It would disgust the least fastidious reader to see more than a title or two of the chapters: Ex. gr. Cap. 5. Quomodo de glacie produxit ignem. Cap. 8. De ove a lupo liberato. Cap. 9. De vacca a dæmone liberata. Cap. 102. De piscibus captis in ficco, &c.

males and females. An exact narrative of his progress in this work would not be very edifying, even if it could be obtained ; but the accounts, respecting it, are so confused and contradictory, that little certainty can be collected from them : and no wonder that it should be so, when it is considered, that those accounts were gathered, for the most part, from vague and fading traditions, and that his biographers flourished some ages after his death. They tell us that, after his return from Gaul, he visited Britain ; from whence he passed into the North of Ireland ; and that, having tarried some time there, he went to the *royal* city of Slane, and from thence to Tarah, during the triennial convention of the States of Ireland upon that celebrated hill. Yet we do not find that any great respect or success attended his first appearance there ; Dubtach M'Lughair, the poet laureat of the day, being the only profelyte he then made. Afterwards, indeed, we are told, that he converted the Queen, and that, at length, Laogaire, the monarch, was prevailed upon to be baptised. It is added also, that he afterwards recommended it to the King to issue his royal mandate for a convocation of the clergy, historians and antiquaries of the kingdom, to settle the genealogies of families, and to purge the chronicles from spurious relations : That, accordingly, a select committee of nine was deputed, consisting of three Kings, among whom was the monarch himself ; three Bishops, of whom St. Patrick was one ; and three antiquaries, one of whom was the above said Dubtach M'Lughair, who carefully amended and corrected the ancient records : And that these venerable archives, thus amended and corrected, received the sanction of the whole assembly.

This authentic collection was then called the *Seanchas More* or *Great Antiquity* : and at the same time it was ordained, that the substance of the
most

most important transactions should be, once in every three years, transcribed into the Royal Psalter of Tarah. Yet, what is extraordinary, from this day forward, we hear nothing more of this famous convention, or *Fes* of the States, nor of the Seanchas More, nor even of the Psalter of Tarah.

Circumstantial accounts are given of his founding several churches, particularly of his building Clogher, before Armagh. Yet Archbishop Usher's manuscript in the library of Trin. Col. Dub. observes, that Probus, the most ancient of his biographers, does not say, that he founded a church at Armagh, but only habitations for religious men. It is however, of but little consequence at this day whether Down, Clogher, Louth, Trim or Armagh, be entitled to the highest antiquity. Nor is it very important whether Armagh and Cashel were the only Archiepiscopal sees established by him; nor yet whether the Primacy was first attached by him to the former. The oldest writer who speaks of the Primacy being placed in Armagh, is St. Bernard in the 12th century, who adds, that he lived and died there; whereas all other writers differ from him in the latter part of his report. So that it is very difficult to arrive at certainty of the particulars of those times.

The particulars, however, which the lives of St. Patrick bring forward, are some of them curious, and shed a strong light upon the general history of Ireland. Our Apostle, after leaving Meath, is conducted to Dublin, then called *Athcliath*. This city is described, by Jocelin of Furnes, to have been at this time as renowned for its population and commerce, as it was beautiful for its situation amidst verdant lawns and forests of oak. “ Hæc, a
 “ *convenis Norwegiæ & insularum populis exercitio*
 “ *peritissimis, omni armatura munitis, bello forti-*
 “ *bus, dapilibus pace omni regno necessariis, in*
 “ *favorem regis Hiberniæ sub regina, filia regis*
 “ *Norwegiæ*

“ Norwegiæ initiata; in posterum per varias re-
 “ rum vices, modo rebellis, modo fœderata regno
 “ Hiberniæ extitit.” “ This city, founded by
 ‘ the people of Norway and the isles who had flock-
 ‘ ed together there, being skilful in enterprize,
 ‘ armed at all points, brave in war and abounding
 ‘ in all things necessary for every kingdom, was
 ‘ brought into favour with the King of Ireland,
 ‘ by the Queen, who was daughter to a King of Nor-
 ‘ way; and continued, afterwards, sometimes at war,
 ‘ and sometimes at peace with the King of Ireland.”

In the book of Ballimote and Sligo, cited by Archp. Usher, Dublin is there styled a kingdom:
 “ Athcliathæ rex Alpinus filius Æoli de stirpe Do-
 “ venaldi Dubh-Danagh.” “ Alpinus King of
 ‘ Dublin, son to Æolus of the race of Donald the
 ‘ black Dane. And in the Black Book of Christ-
 Church is the following passage cited by the same
 venerable authority: “ Fornices five voltæ fuerunt
 “ fundatæ per Danos, ante adventum S. Patricii in
 “ Hiberniam: & tunc temporis Ecclesia Christi non
 “ fuerat fundata nec constructa prout nunc est.
 “ Quapropter S. Patricius celebravit missam in uno
 “ fornice five volta, qui in hodiernam diem appella-
 “ tur fornix five volta S. Patricii.” “ The arches
 ‘ or vaults were built by the Danes, before the arrival
 ‘ of St. Patrick in Ireland, but then Christ-Church
 ‘ was not built as it now is. Wherefore St. Pa-
 ‘ trick celebrated mass in one of the vaults, which is
 ‘ to this day called the vault of St. Patrick.”

I am well aware that the name of Dane is not used by foreign writers before the sixth century; yet it might have been in use before, though not found in books. Anastasius does not insinuate that it was new, when he says, that “ the ancients called all
 “ that northern country by the name of Scythia,
 “ where the Goths and Danes now live.” Besides, though it should be urged, that the name was not then known, it should be considered that our indi-
 genal writers, who apply it to those times, lived long
 since;

since; and, by a sort of prolepsis, all those northern nations which from time to time invaded this country were styled Danes, they being the principal people who came over and made settlements here.

However, there is a cloud of authorities to prove that the northern rovers or pirates from Scythia, particularly from Norway, Sweden, Livonia, the Cimbrian Chersonese and the adjacent isles, no matter whether you call them Scyths or Scots, Goths or Danes, Ostmen or Normans, had possessed themselves of the most commodious seaports of Ireland, and had built the principal maritime towns, before the period of which I now write.

If Saxo Grammaticus was entitled to that confidence, to which the elegance of his style gives him so fair a pretension, there could be little doubt of this matter. Yet candour requires, that we should not deny him that indulgence which we grant to Buchanan and our own writers upon the same period. But Albert Crantz, and Hemingius Luningbergensis speak of those Northerners invading Ireland in the first century. And Jonas Koldingensis reports that Ireland was eight times reduced by the Kings of Denmark: "*Hibernia octies a Daniæ regibus debellata & acquisita est,*" &c. 1. By Fridelevus I. 2. By Frotho III. the son of Fridelevus, who died in the beginning of the first century. 3. By Hiarnus son of Frotho III. 4. By Fridelevus II. 5. By Frotho IV. son of Fridelevus II. &c. &c.*

But if we are to lay no great stress upon these authorities, and if we must confine our faith to our own dark oracles, then let us consult them on this very subject. Keating observes, that Cairbre Caitcan, who headed the Attacotti in the first century, and seized upon the monarchy of Ireland, was a descendant from the King of Denmark. And Mr. O'Connor,

* Carew Collection.

O'Connor, in his Dissertations, remarks from old fragments, several intermarriages of our Irish Princes with the daughters of the Kings of Fomuire or Finland; and thence infers the close connection which, in the second century, subsisted between the Scots of Ireland and the nations bordering upon the Baltic. The same writer also, speaking of the above-named Cairbre, who was nick-named Caitcan or *Cat-ear'd*, from the detestation he was held in by the Milesians, calls him "a Damnonian by birth, " who put himself at the head of the populace and " overturned the constitution." He elsewhere calls his party a cruel Attacottic faction, and he speaks of two cruel Attacottic wars.

Now, without entering into any disquisition upon the Attacotti, a name which has so puzzled and so baffled criticism, it is evident, that both he and Keating mean, by Attacotti, the Damnonians, as he calls them, or as they are generally called, the Danans. These Danans, who were the fourth in order of those adventurers who are said to have originally peopled Ireland, are, on all hands, allowed to have been Scythians. And that these Danans were no other than the Danes, will be manifest from a circumstance not attended to, viz. They are always stigmatized by the Irish writers as magicians and sorcerers, which was no more than the real character of all the Scandinavians and the other nations on the Baltic, who pretended to deal in charms, incantations and enchantments; as the songs of the Scalds and the Runic poetry in general give ample testimony. There is also another reason why they might have been so called: they probably raised the astonishment of the more rude and ignorant Irish, by their superior knowledge and facility in the common arts of civil life; all which might, by them, have been attributed to supernatural powers. For Keating tells us expressly, that the Milesians exercised neither trades nor traffic; that their only employment was

was war and government, law and divinity; leaving the plebeian Danans in the unrivalled possession of the handicraft trades, husbandry and commerce. And hence may we gather the reason why Mr. O'Connor styles these Damnonians, or Danans the *populace* or dregs of the people.

We must then go into the opinion of the learned author of the Irish Historical Library, that these Danans were no other people than the Danes, who are sometimes styled Tuath-Danans or Lord-Danans from their domineering in Ireland; (Tuath and Lord being words of the same import). In like manner, and for the same reason, as the Danes of England were, in after-ages, styled Lur-Danes or Lord-Danes.

In confirmation of this early domination of the Danes in Ireland, we appeal to the book of Howth, as cited by Hanmer. There we find that a prince of Ulster, who synchronizes with Constantine the Great, having by his hardy deeds of chivalry gained the heart of the accomplished queen of Conaught, was by his slighted rivals, the princes of the realm, so detested for this preference shewn by the lady, that they attacked him on all sides, and forced him to fly to Denmark for relief; where he found such powerful succours as reinstated him in his kingdom; which he gratefully shared with his allies, who there settled, they and their posterity doing many notable acts.

I shall only further observe, that Stanihurst, Hollingshed and Hanmer, refer the building of Dublin, Limerick and other sea-port towns, to the Ostmen or Normans in the second century. But, if these respectable authorities were less express than they are, the whole structure of our traditions, and songs of our bards, respecting the four first centuries, would evince this matter.

Of the *five* colonies, the Partholan, Nemedian, Belgian, Danan and Milesian, which are said to have possessed

possessed themselves of this island at different periods, *four* are admitted, by our indigenal writers, to have been Scythian. But the Belgian, they say, was Celtic; not considering that the Belgæ are Germans; who, as well as the Goths, were all Scythians originally. No wonder then, that their descendants, in Ireland, should be called Scyths or Scots, by the writers who first mention them; especially when we consider that Nennius, the oldest writer of the old Britons, uses promiscuously the names of *Scythæ* and *Scoti* for the same people: and that, as Camden observes, both nations, the Scyths and Scots, are called Y-Scot in the language of the old Britons. This train would open a rich mine for historical research, were this a place for it; but the law of our work obliges us to return to our great preacher of the religion of Christ.

Full thirty years did St. Patrick employ in the most active and exemplary discharge of his ministry, instructing a rude people in the principles of piety and virtue: beginning, as he did, with the elements of knowledge; pointing to the first Author of Nature as the moral Governor of the Universe; opening, by degrees, the mysteries of Providence in the gracious scheme of redemption:—Imitating in this the procedure of divine Wisdom, which, at different periods, was pleased to give different revelations of his will, to frail and fallible men, letting in the rays of illumination by little and little; lest, like weak eyes, they should be dazzled by the splendour of too great a blaze; till at length, when the fulness of time was come, he sent that great light, which was finally to irradiate every corner of the earth, the author and finisher of our faith, who delivered the glad tidings of salvation, love to God, good will to man; without distinction of nation, or respect of person, teaching, what philosophy could never teach, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly, in this present

present world, to intitle us to another, and a better, when this one shall pass away, and time and place shall be no more.

This excellent personage, being now ninety years old, committed the care of those churches he founded, to the pastors which he had set over them, and dedicated the remainder of his life to contemplation in different convents *. The active virtues of a life, already protracted beyond the ordinary limits, and now continued in the pious discharge of monastic functions, could not fail of attracting, to this venerable veteran, a sovereign influence over the minds of his converts; and therefore we may well believe, what is said of him, that he was enabled to make a temporal provision for the ministers of that religion which he had planted, by obtaining, from several chieftains, endowments of land, and from the people, grants of the tithes of their corn and cattle.

Of this early institution of the patrimony of the Church of Ireland, we can scarcely entertain a doubt from a passage in a letter from the Bishop of Kilmore to Usher, then Archbishop-elect of Armagh: in which, after congratulations, he presages the good of the Church from his promotion, and complains, that, notwithstanding all his Majesty's endowments and directions, the inheritance of the Irish church, not only in Ulster but elsewhere, is made arbitrary at the Council-table: "St. PATRICK'S RIDGES, which you know belong to the fabric of that church, are taken away."

By these *Ridges of St. Patrick*, I suppose, were meant the tearmon or sanctuary lands, which originally belonged to almost every parish, and which, at a much later period, upon the attainder of O'Nial and

* "Anno sexagesimo ætatis suæ missus a Cælestino papa ad prædicandum in Hiberniam beatissimus Archiepiscopus Patri-
cuis venit. Aliis sexaginta annis prædicando & baptizando per
diversas Hiberniæ provincias; aliis vero triginta annis in suis
cellis & monasteriis theoretice vixit."

and other Chiefs had, by several *offices*, been found for the king; the commissioners not having duly weighed, in the confusion of the times, what was lay and what was clerical property. But afterwards, by the powerful representations and intercessions of Archbishop Usher, many of them were restored to the church.

If any learned gentleman will give a more satisfactory solution of St. Patrick's Ridges, I shall be much obliged to him for it; but, be the solution what it may, the name shews that the institution was supposed to be as old as Christianity itself in this island.

It has been objected to Ireland, that Christianity was not there, as elsewhere, sealed with the blood of martyrs. But if the fact be true, and it seems to be admitted, it only shews that St. Patrick was a man of wonderful address, and that he conducted himself with such singular prudence and discretion as to conciliate the love and esteem of a people, with whose temper and disposition he was well acquainted during the six or seven years of his youth, which he had passed among them.

Giraldus Cambrensis relates the reply which a bishop of Cashel made to himself, upon his making this matter a national reproach. "I cannot deny," says the prelate, that our country is stained with some filthiness, which it would be more decent in a Christian to remove than to fling in our teeth. But however barbarous our country may be, there was never yet found in it a wretch so destitute of piety and humanity, as to take away the life of a priest; but we are fallen under the dominion of those, who scruple not to embrue their hands in the blood of bishops." By which he alluded to the case of Becket.

As it has been doubted where St. Patrick was born, so it has been disputed where he was buried. But happily it is of no more consequence whether his

his ashes rest in Armagh, Down or Glastonbury, than whether he founded a monastery in the last of these places, as he did in the other two. It would be of more importance if we could shew what form of church discipline he established here; yet after the most diligent investigation, we dare not so much as attempt it. For who would not smile at being told, that the liturgy, or public service of God, introduced by him into this country, originally descended from St. Mark the Evangelist; though a manuscript, written above a thousand years ago, could be produced which affirms it.

It is natural enough to suppose, that our great reformer accommodated his form of worship to that which he had seen and followed at Rome, which was then nothing like that corrupt mass of superstition to which it has since grown. But of this we are certain, that, in succeeding ages, no one general form of divine service was retained over the kingdom; almost every diocese having different liturgies, and even particular churches having particular rites, modes and offices of public devotion. It was reserved for Henry Plantagenet to establish a perfect uniformity.

In the legendary tales of St. Patrick we are told that, under him, an universal conversion of the nation took place, and that, at his appearance, the darkness of superstition vanished, like the mists of morning at the rising of the sun. But we must make large allowances for national, and religious, prejudices in minds unprincipled by sound philosophy. If the conversion of the Irish were so complete, as declamation would persuade us, it would have formed the most extraordinary circumstance in the character of this extraordinary man; considering that absolute sway which Druidism is said to have maintained in this island.

H

But

But many obstinate facts forbid us to believe that the progress of Christianity was so smooth and so rapid as is suggested; for, in after-ages, we find Paganism loitering in the land, and sometimes maintaining its ascendancy in the highest stations. We have already set it down, that the monarch Laogaire was converted through the influence of his Queen; which makes it appear the more extraordinary, that his son Lughaid, in the fourteenth year of whose reign St. Patrick was beatified, is said to have died by the stroke of a thunderbolt, as the just judgment of Heaven, for his opposition to the preachers of Christianity.

Many other instances of infidel Princes are to be found in much later periods. Dermot, the monarch about the middle of the sixth century, is said to have had a Druid in his retinue, and to have suffered a terrible defeat, through the prayers of St. Columb-cill, for having put one of his disciples to death.

Congall, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, was not only a Pagan, but a persecutor of the church: He is said to have burned the secular and regular clergy at Kildare, without distinction. Now a deed so atrocious, and so shocking to the feelings of humanity, could scarce have been perpetrated by christian men. It may therefore be justly argued, that the bulk and body of the people were still in their Heathenish state (at least in Kildare), and that the Christians were the Sectaries, who, as is generally the case upon the broaching of new opinions, suffered for being particular.

Other such like instances, if necessary, might be pointed out, even in later times: but the life of Gildas Badonicus is very express on this head:
 “ Rogatus Hiberniam transmeavit, & labascentem eo
 “ loci fidem Christianam, conversis paganis, convictis
 “ hæreticis, & fundatis passim monasteriis, in integrum
 “ restituit, ac pietati bonisque moribus restaurandis
 “ tam

“tam vocequam exemplo præivit.” ‘Gildas, being
 ‘invited, went over to Ireland, where having confirmed
 ‘those who were wavering in the faith, having *con-*
 ‘*verted Pagans*, convicted heretics, and every where
 ‘founded monasteries, he restored piety and virtue
 ‘both by his preaching and example.’ Now, this
 Gildas flourished toward the close of the sixth cen-
 tury; and the editor, though not the writer, of his
 life, was John de Sacro Bosco, an Irishman.

The Danes of Ireland were not become Chris-
 tians till the beginning of the eleventh century;
 then indeed they began to abound in zeal; for
 we find that the King of Dublin goes on a pilgri-
 mage to Rome.

As we must, then, from all these arguments taken
 together, be convinced, on the one hand, that the
 nation was not become entirely Christian in the sixth
 century; so shall we, on the other, soon see docu-
 ments enow to evince, that this was the epoch, at
 which we are to fix the commencement of that ce-
 lebrity, for sanctity and learning, which Ireland in
 after-ages obtained, upon the decline of the Roman
 empire; with which polite knowledge gradually sunk
 into the darkness of the middle age.

From this æra we read of the Irish monasteries
 being in such an affluent and prosperous state, that
 we must make ample allowance for the fond repre-
 sentations of monkish writers; whose exaggerations,
 instead of exalting the honour of their order and
 their nation, have only diminished their own credit,
 and drawn into question certain of their reports,
 which, if soberly delivered, would never have been
 disputed. But it is not from general, vague and
 hyperbolical declamation, but from a careful and
 dispassionate review of facts, and construction of
 their circumstances, that we can form any just esti-
 mate of the state of those times, whether ecclesiasti-
 cal or civil.

An Irish writer, toward the close of the 18th century, should not swallow, with the wide throat of credulity, those marvellous fictions, which disgrace the hallowed name of religion, and have infixed on the Irish character the stigma of being as light of belief, as it is greedy of glory. “Sed vera gloria ra-
“dices agit & propagatur, falsa tanquam flosculi de-
“cidit.”

When therefore we see the following description of our holy and learned isle, our eyes are dazzled with its splendor : “Ut paradifus aut novus circulus
“lacteus difcentium opulans, vernanſque pafcuofa nu-
“merofitate lectorum, quemadmodum Poli cardines
“aſtriferis micantium ornantur vibraminibus fide-
“rum.” ‘Like a verdant paradise ſtocked with flocks
‘of ſcholars, or like another milky way ſtudded with
‘innumerable lights of learning, ſparkling as the
‘conſtellations round the polar ſtar.’ However, as much ſmoke indicates ſome fire, ſo this turgid paſſage diſcovers the high opinion which our neighbours once entertained of Irish literature ; for it muſt be obſerved, that the above bombaſt is the writing of an Engliſhman. But from a concurrence of the moſt reſpectable evidence, it may be fairly deduced, that our monaſteries were originally inſtituted as ſemi- naries for the inſtruction of a rude people, in the principles of religion and virtue ; many of whom turned out ſo eminent for ſanctity of life, that they became the Patron Saints of other countries : which ſo exalted the national character for piety and learning, that many foreigners came here to ſtudy, and were hoſpitably received in our homely retreats.

Quæ regio in terris Hiberni ignara laboris

Quæ vivæ fidei dogmata ſana colit ?

Kiliano celebris divo Franconia, *Gallo*

Helvetii, *Fiacro* Gallia, vota vovet.

Nonne *Columbani* monachorum pervigil ordo.

Lustravit meritis ſolis utrumque polum ?

The

The venerable Bede, who flourished in the seventh century, relates, that many both of the Nobles and Commons of Britain resorted to Ireland for instruction, and were hospitably received by the Scots. William of Malmfbury speaks of a King of Northumberland, who, retiring into Ireland, was there imbued with letters, and composed by philosophy. Of this Prince it is that the following lines are quoted :

Scotorum qui tum versatus incola terris
Cælestem intento spirabat corde sophiam,
Nam patriæ fines & dulcia liquerat arva
Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul.

British writers go so far back as the reign of their famous Arthur, and record that many men of Irish birth were then renowned, both abroad and at home, for their profound erudition and sanctity of manners. And, in the following ages, Ireland, not without justice, obtained the title of *Insula Sanctorum & Doctorum*.

Even so late as the eleventh century, that dark period of the middle age, it is poetically said of a Bishop of St. David's by his own son :

Exemplo Patrum, commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad *Hibernos* sophia mirabili claros.

And so fully penetrated with this opinion, of the celebrity of the Irish, was Camden, especially during the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, when the other nations of Europe began to relapse into their original barbarism, that he says : “ Our Anglo-
“ Saxons used to flock to Ireland, as to a mart of good
“ literature. Whence we frequently read in our
“ writers, that our learned men had received their
“ education in Ireland.”

It cannot be expected, from the casualties to which such things are incident, that the works, which rendered their authors so famous, could be all preserved, or if they had been preserved, that they would be all worthy of perusal at this day. Some, however, still remain, sufficient to vindicate the genius of the people. I shall therefore, as I go along, present the reader with the best specimens of them which fall in my way; as it is my wish to give, at once, the most pleasing and instructive survey of the state of the church of Ireland, with which its literature is so intimately connected. And if those specimens should sometimes fail to give any high idea of the refinement of their authors, they will at least ascertain what that degree of refinement was, which must have been exactly suited to the taste of the times.

These specimens too may serve another purpose, they may sometimes point to certain controversial matters; which, though they may now appear of small importance, were once sufficient to agitate the whole church. We shall therefore arrange whatever extracts we make, for all or any of these purposes, under the centuries in which they were written. But first let us dispose of what immediately belongs to St. Patrick, and the age in which he flourished.

Keating, who is always a strenuous assertor of, what he conceives to be, the honour of his native country, reprobates, in terms of high contempt, the idea of Ireland's becoming, at this time, subject to the Pope. His words are: "There is an author one "*Sanders* (whose legendary writings have ever been "*rejected by the lovers of truth*) that has the confidence to assert, in his first book of the English "*wars*, that as soon as the Irish received the Christian faith, they submitted themselves, their consciences and estates, to the management and direction "*of*

“ of the Bishop of Rome, and that they acknow-
 “ ledged no other sovereign Prince, in that king-
 “ dom, but the *sovereign Pontiff*, from the first
 “ establishment of Christianity in the island, till
 “ it fell into the hands of the English, under
 “ Henry II.”

The zeal, however, of our Irish Herodotus, upon this occasion, is not supported by knowledge. Either he, or his translator, calls the author of the English *schism* (a writer, though certainly of no credit for veracity, not so obscure as the word *one Sanders* would imply) author of the English *wars*; and seems not to know that he cites the very words of Polydore Virgil; whose authority is here of no weight: For that Italian, being sent over to England, by the Pope to collect his Peter pence, undertook to write the history of the nation, and inserted this figment, as what he thought most honourable and useful to his Lord who employed him. But he goes much farther than Sanders, for he asserts, that the Irish, after they had accepted Christianity, not only yielded themselves, and all that they had, to the power of the Bishop of Rome, but that they always did affirm and still do boast, that they have no other Lord beside the Pope.

But this audacious falsehood, which is also retailed by Campion, though spurned, is not judiciously reprobated, by Keating. For it does not necessarily follow, because he enumerates (from the Psalter of Cashel and Polychronicon) a succession of Monarchs on the Irish throne, that these Princes did not consider themselves as holding under the Roman Pontiff; as John did in England, and even some Emperors in Germany. Besides we find, that Roderic O'Connor continued Monarch of Ireland, even after he had acknowledged Henry II. as his Lord. Consequently, the
 Monarchs

Monarchs of Ireland might, in the preceding times, have looked up to the Popes as their supreme Lords. But that this was not the case must be evident from the following considerations.

In the first place, we have seen that the son of Laogaire, that very Monarch in whose reign St. Patrick deceased, continued still in his Heathen State; and that, in after-ages, several of the Irish Monarchs had not been converted. Which being the case, it is impossible that they should have conceived themselves as deriving any authority from the Pope, or as owing him any obedience.

In the next place, supposing that the whole line of Monarchs from Laogaire had been, what their catalogues stile them, *Christian Kings*, this would not make good the groundless assertion of Polydore, because the Pope had not then arrogated to himself the power of bestowing kingdoms and conferring crowns. This was reserved for the seventh Gregory. Whereas the first Gregory, as we shall soon shew, disclaimed even the title of Catholic or *universal* Bishop, so late as the seventh century.

It is true that, long before this epoch, the Bishop of Rome had been stiled *Pope* or Father, but so were the Bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria; nor was the title peculiar to them. Certain privileges, indeed, had been always allowed to those primitive and apostolic churches; but whatever pre-eminence they obtained was a pre-eminence of dignity and association, not of authority and jurisdiction.

It is also true, that, in the second century, Victor, one of the aspiring Prelates of Rome, excommunicated the churches of Asia, for their observation of Easter on the anniversary of the Jewish Passover. But for this rash and unwarrantable proceeding, he
was

was universally condemned, especially by *Irenæus* Bishop of Lyons: And the Eastern churches, despising the Roman Pontiff's Anathema, kept to their old custom; and nothing was universally agreed on, respecting this point, till the Council of Nice.

Again, in the third century, we find Stephen, Bishop of Rome, excommunicating the churches of Africa, for holding the opinion that baptism by Schismatics and Heretics was invalid; though in this he was generally censured; and by none with more firmness than Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, who was himself a great usurper of power. His words to the Pope are very strong: "No Bishop should
 " pretend to be a Bishop of other Bishops, or by a
 " tyrannical sway endeavour to constrain his col-
 " leagues."

Thus may we see that, though the ambition of the Roman hierarchy laid claim to a certain supremacy, in the second and third centuries, the right was not acknowledged. And to put this matter beyond dispute, the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, established a perfect equality of rights, degree and power, between the Sees of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria: yielding indeed the precedence to the first of these, on account of the dignity of the imperial city; not from the succession to the chair of St. Peter. Because it was not agreed whether St. Peter had ever been at Rome; whereas, it is certain, from the acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul was the first who preached the gospel and founded a church there.

This is confirmed by the third Canon of the second Æcumenical Council held A. D. 381. There we find the See of Constantinople (which originally depended on that of Heraclea) exalted to the same rank with Rome, Antioch and Alexandria, and precedence next to Rome given to it, as it was then become a new Rome, or second metropolis of the empire. "Cum honoris primatus
 " Episcopo

“ Episcopo Romano semper concessus sit, quod in
 “ urbe imperiali sedes haberet, ita æquum est ut cum
 “ Constantinopolis *Nova Roma & imperii caput* facta
 “ sit, regiæ hujus urbis Episcopus proximum, post
 “ Romanum, honoris dignitatis gradum obtineret.”

Vain is it then to argue for papal supremacy, because two Bishops of Rome, one in the second and another in the third century, were so intoxicated by a precedence of dignity and honour as to denounce excommunication against the Bishops of Asia and Africa: who, at the time, only laughed at this impotent attempt; but, in the next century, prevailed to have this arrogant claim reprobated, in the strongest terms, at the two first general Councils; as we have just seen.

And so fully penetrated was the first Gregory, stiled the Great, with the idea of his own parity of rank with the other Patriarchs, about the beginning of the seventh century, that the then aspiring ambition of the Bishop of Constantinople has made him leave frequent acknowledgments of it, under his own hand. To which it will not be amiss here to recur.

Constantinople having become not only a second Rome, but the metropolis of the Empire, the Bishops of that See began to consider themselves as intitled to the same pre-eminence with their city, and invested with ecclesiastical dignity co-extended with the empire, as paramount heads of the Church. Accordingly, John, who was cotemporary with Gregory, assumed the title of universal Bishop.—This was deemed a scandalous usurpation by Gregory, who could bear an equal, but could not brook a superior; and would not tamely submit to part with that precedence, which his predecessors had enjoyed, and which had been confirmed to them by the Councils of Nice, Constantinople and Chalcedon.

But observable it is, that Gregory was too good a Courtier to support his title to precedence upon
 the

the ground of Rome's being the imperial city, as that plea might have been offensive to the Emperor; he in his letter to Mauritius Augustus, resorts to the pretension of the Bishops of Rome to be the lineal successors of St. Peter, the first of the Apostles, and the passage of St. Mathew, chap. xvi. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, &c.' and then he adds, "Cura ei (Petro) totius ecclesiæ & principatus committitur & tamen universalis Apostolus non vocatur. At vir sanctissimus con-facerdos meus Joannes vocari *Universalis Episcopus* conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere: O tempora, O mores! Sed absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen istud blasphemix, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur:" 'The care and government of the whole church was committed to Peter; who nevertheless is not called the Universal Apostle, yet John, my fellow-Presbyter, wants to be called *Universal Bishop*; such is the depravity of the times. But far be it from the hearts of all Christian men to assume that blasphemous title, which being madly arrogated by one, deprives all the rest of their due honour.'

To the same purpose Gregory writes in his letters to Constantia Augusta, to Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria, and to Anastasius Bishop of Antioch. In the course of which he arraigns the ambition of John, in assuming the title of Universal Bishop, as heretical, blasphemous and antichristian. And in his epistle to the Patriarch of Constantinople himself, he asks him: "What will you be able to answer, on the last day's trial, to Christ the head of the Universal Church, for endeavouring to subject to yourself every member of it, by usurping the title of Universal? Whom do you imitate in this but that arch-fiend, who despising legions of associate angels, would be subject to none, and would put all things under his feet, saying I will ascend
" into

“ into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars
“ of God ! ”

It will not, I trust, have appeared digressive the method here chosen, so different from that of Keating, to remove the imputation of the original dependence of the Irish church. Let me, however return to the close of the fifth century ; when St. Patrick finished his glorious career of a long and useful life. Some say he was buried in Armagh, others in Glastonbury, and the following distich settles him in Down :

Hi tres in Duno tumulo conduntur eodem,
Brigida, *Patricius*, atque Columba Pius.

But I leave the settling of such momentous points to those “ who,” as Milton phrases it, “ take pleasure to be, all their life-time, raking in “ the foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals.”

S C T.

S E C T. VII.

SO barren are the times, subsequent to our Irish Apostle, of just information, that not only the state of the church, but of the nation, must be gleaned from the lives of Saints, and those lives disfigured with relations the most unimportant, and miracles the most unmeaning. To the last of these I should not even allude, did not entire silence suppress the fact that *such things are recorded*, and thereby give a false gloss to the manners and opinions of these times.

The first writer whose works are extant and whom Ireland can boast of, is *Cælius Sedulius*. He composed an heroic poem on the life of Christ; with an acrostic hymn; both of which, Du Pin says, we have, and gives the author, whom he calls a *Scot*, a very high character. "He had, says he, a genius; the stile of his poem is noble and grand, his images are poetical, and his verses very passable." Stanihurst speaks thus of him, *Cælium Sedulium, poetam nobilem, Hibernum fuisse perspicuum est*. That he could not be an Albanian Scot is virtually admitted by Mr. James M'Pherson, (who cannot be offended at being called *author*, not *translator*, of *Ossian in English*) in his preface to his namesake the Doctor's Dissertations: "The Seminary of Monks, he says, established by Columba, an Irishman in the island of Jona, in the sixth century, seem to have been the only persons within the territories of the Scots, that could record events." Consequently, as Sedulius flourished before this epoch, when the Albanian Scots first learned to record events, it cannot be supposed that
a country

a country thus destitute of every means of education could have sent out so learned a man.

The celebrity of Columb-cill has placed his country and parentage in a still clearer light. He was of the blood royal of Nial of nine hostages, and having rendered himself conspicuous, by many acts of piety and devotion, he founded a famous monastery at Derry, and afterwards went over to his brethren the Scots of Albany, then called Dal-Reuds; and having made Profelytes of them, he converted *Brudeus* King of the Picts, who bestowed upon him the little island of Iona, or Hy, west of the isle of Mull, for the site of a Monastery, of which he became the Abbot. This spot, scarce visible in our maps, soon became famous * under the name of Hy-Columb-cill,

* His offices in the Breviaries of these Convents refer to these circumstances, as may be seen in the following extracts, the one from the Irish and the other from the Scotch;

I.

*Felix Hibernia Columbam genuit
Qui de prosapia regali claruit;
Sed morum gratia magis emicuit.*

II.

*Relinquens charam patriam Hiberniam,
Per Christi gratiam venit ad Scotiam;
Per quem idonea vitæ primordia
Rex gentis sumpsit Pictianæ.*

The following pieces may not be unentertaining to some readers who have not seen the Florilegium.

In S. Columbam Hyenfem Abbatem, Pictorum Apostolum & specialem Tir-Conallix patronum.

*Utraque turtureos fœtus, nidumque Columbæ,
Cunas et tumulum Scotia major habet.
Mundi oculus, Jovis interpres, Christique Sybilla
Quid latet abtrusum mente, vel ente videt.
Flectitur imperio quævis natura Columbæ:
Saxa natant, undas petra dat, unda merum,*

Columb-cill, for those learned Irish Scots who succeeded as mitred Abbots, and disseminated all of Christianity and learning that was known in the South of Caledonia, even to the kingdom of Northumberland, as Bede and others testify, during the sixth and seventh centuries. St. Columb became of course, the Patron Saint of the Picts and Dal-Reud Scots. And it is well known that this Abbey continued to be, for many succeeding centuries, the great cemetery of the Pictish and Scottish Kings.

At this time the number of the bards had multiplied so exceedingly in Ireland, that the third part

In nidum S. Columbæ Hyensis abbatis, i. e. insulam Hy.

Turtur ut edoceat patrium per inane volare
 Pullos & penna vomere arare nubes,
 Fabricat exesæ nidum sub viscere rupis,
 Eminent inde solo, distat & inde salo,
 Nare freti, gressum prohibet distantia terræ
 Libertas ala in remige cuneta manet.
 Hinc indegenere virtute per aera foetus
 Turtureus patrum roscida rura volat.
 Sic pius, Hyensis nidum sibi turtur eremi,
 Fabricat Hy, et foetus scandere ad astra docet,
 Hinc docet amotæ speculari tædia terræ ;
 Hinc Acherontæi dira pericla Stigis.
 Copia sola manet cœli, prior ipse Columba
 Astra Columbina prole sequente petit.
 Hic licet astripetas sine fine videre phalanges ;
 Qualiter, et turma turma sequente volet.
 O! faustas cunas! ubi reptilis incolæ terræ,
 Ales inassueto scandit ad astra gradu.

Jo. Colganus Minorita Hibernus.

Hymnus de Sancto Columba, ex officio Ecclesiastico ejusdem Sancti.

Columba penna nivea collo resplendens roseo,
 Loca petit syderca de claustro mundi luteo.
 Hic nidum sibi posuit, in petra pœnitentiæ :
 Devotos Christo genuit pullos per verbum gratiæ.
 Pro dulci cantu, querulis intendebat gemitibus ;
 Crebros adjungens sedulis fletus orationibus.
 Sit Deo soli gloria, qui nos post cursus stadia,
 Columbæ per suffragia, ducat ad cœli gaudia. Amen.

part of the property of the kingdom centered in them. This fact, vouched by Keating, and confirmed by the less suspicious evidence of subsequent periods, is so extraordinary, that we must suppose the musicians, historians and seanachies (or Genealogists) were classed under the general head of Bards. However, Bardship then belonged to certain families, which had portions of land (a much more fixed inheritance than poetry) assigned them for the maintenance; besides the custom of *coshering*, or living upon the industrious, which these idlers observed during the winter. Their persons too were said to be sacred; and if so, considering that they were the first Converts to Christianity, and had early attuned their Harps to its praise, it is easy to believe, that many of them had become ecclesiastics. Upon this principle, only, we can account for the partiality of St. Columb in their favour.

But be this as it may, we find, that in the year 558 the Monarch Hugh issued his Royal Mandate to his tributary Kings, Princes and Nobles, and to the Clergy of the kingdom, to meet him in convention at *Drumceat* (for we must hear no more of the *Fes of Tarab*) to consult upon the means of most effectually suppressing those nuisances, the bards; who, notwithstanding their vast endowments of land, were become a most heavy burden upon the people at large.

St. Columb-cill, whose influence among the Scots, of both nations, was become paramount, immediately quitted his Abbey of Hy and flew to the protection of the Bards. No wonder that his praises are so celebrated, by them, from that day to this. But to *Drumceat* he repaired, attended by a prodigious retinue of Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Students in divinity. Such a following must have inspired respect for the Saint, had his temper been as mild as his name, *The Dove of the Cell*, would import; but his virtues, it seems, were alloyed by

by an excessive irritability, which sometimes made him vent his fury in execrations on his enemies. But at other times his resentment had recourse to other more effectual weapons: He had fought and he had won the battles of Cuil-Dreibhne, Rathán and Feadha. The memory of which, even more than the miracles which he wrought,* overawed the whole assembly. His voice at Drumceat was not less potential than the Monarch's. His authority prevailed, that the Bards should not be banished, and a compromise was made, that their numbers should be only reduced.

In the close of this century flourished St. Canice the Patron Saint of Kilkenny, who wrote the life of St. Columb-cill, and hymns in his praise.

St. Finian lived earlier in it and was cotemporary with St. Brigid. He wrote, according to Bede, upon the controversy concerning the observation of Easter; and also a book upon the ancient usage of the Passover. One of his festival Hymns runs thus:

Exultemus Finiano,
Jubilemus diluculo,
Cujus dogma fuit favo,
Prædulcis in populo.
Regressus in Clonardiam,
Ad Cathedram lectionis,
Apposuit diligentiam,
Ad studium scripturæ.

To St. Keivin, or Coemgen, who flourished in the close of this century, is ascribed a book on the origin of the Britons and of Heber and Heremon.

I

But

* His metamorphosing the Queen, who raised a party against him, is for its singularity worth transcribing.

The Queen astonish'd at her feathers, stood,
And, with her maid transform'd, frequents the flood.
But when she sees a coming storm, she sails
Above the clouds, and leaves the lonely vales.

But the celebrity of his name must be attributed to his being founder of a monastery at Glendalough, in the county of Wicklow, where he spent the latter part of a life, prolonged to the age of 120, in those austere acts of discipline, which were the piety of those days. It is recorded of him that he was so addicted to continence, even from his youth, that he so whipped an unfortunate virgin, with nettles, who discovered her partialities towards him, that, ashamed of her sinful passion, she dedicated the remainder of her life to solitude and religion; but the delicacy of the times has suppressed her name.

However, the holiness of the patron brought such a resort to this Monastery, that it grew into the highest repute. Glendalough became a religious city and the see of a Bishop, whose jurisdiction extended to the walls of Dublin. It is still famous for the remains of what are called the SEVEN CHURCHES; built, as it is said, in the Grecian stile of architecture, and among the ruins have been discovered inscriptions in the Greek, Latin and Irish languages.

The O'Tools, descendants of the famous Tuathal monarch of Ireland in the second century, claimed the patronage both of the Abbey and Bishoprick, long after the latter had been united to the See of Dublin by the Pope, and the union confirmed by King John. Nor did the last titular Bishop resign his claim till the close of the fifteenth century.

Before we proceed to the next century, it must be observed, as one of the memorable things belonging to this one, that a letter of Gregory the Great, to the Bishops of Ireland, is produced as an evidence of the Pope's supremacy over Ireland at that early date. Now as I have already shewn, in answer to Polydore Virgil, Sanders and Campion, that Gregory has, over and over again, disclaimed the title of Universal Bishop, so it will be seen, from

from an inspection of this letter, that it contains nothing like a claim on his part, nor an acknowledgment on theirs. An advice, indeed, is asked by these Bishops, and an advice is given by the Pope; but they are so far from following his advice, that they persist in their old opinions.

The case is stated by Baronius: “ All the
 “ Bishops of Ireland, says he, were very earnest in
 “ defence of the *Three Chapters*,” [N. B. It
 would neither edify nor amuse to detain the reader
 with the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, and
 luckily the nature of this controversy does not
 affect our main question] “ which had been con-
 “ demned in the fifth synod; and when they per-
 “ ceived that the Church of Rome received the
 “ condemnation of them, they departed from her,
 “ and adhered to the Schismatics of Italy, Africa
 “ and other countries; animated with the vain
 “ hope, that they were champions for the Catho-
 “ lic faith, when they defended the decisions of
 “ the Council of Chalcedon. And so rooted were
 “ their errors, that, when they saw Italy suffer so
 “ much from war, pestilence and famine, they
 “ imputed these calamities to the judgment of
 “ Heaven, because it had undertaken to fight for
 “ the fifth synod against the Council of Chalce-
 “ don.”

Thus may we see, from this account of that great
 stickler for the See of Rome, that the Irish were
 far from owning any subjection to it, though they
 consulted it; but not as an Oracle, or as a jurisdic-
 tion from which there was no appeal. And, though
 the letters of the Irish Bishops should be now lost,
 we may collect the substance of them from Gregory's
 answer to them. “ Your Epistle, says he,
 “ notifies, that you suffer a persecution; but, if you
 “ suffer not in a righteous cause, it can profit no-
 “ thing to your salvation. But ill it becomes you
 “ to glory in your persecution, as you call it, at
 I 2 “ the

“ the very time you reproach Italy for what she
 “ has suffered ; for it is written: those whom the
 “ Lord loveth he chastiseth, and scourgeth every
 “ son whom he receiveth.—I send you a book
 “ written by one of my Predecessors (which, by
 “ the by, was said to have been written by him-
 “ self) and if after the perusal of it, you persist in
 “ your present opinions, you are devoted, not to
 “ reason, but to obstinacy. I therefore intreat you
 “ in the bowels of charity, that laying aside the
 “ swell of pride, you return to the church your
 “ mother, which calls and invites you as her
 “ children.”

Now Gregory has elsewhere explained what he
 meant by the church at large, which as he was
 far from confining to the Roman community, so
 he taught that God had a vineyard, namely the
 universal church of the faithful, from the beginning
 of the world until now, comprehending all who
 have attained to be just and holy. In his letter
 to the same prelates, A. D. 601, we find nothing for
 or against the present question, so that, persuaded
 I am, no ancient, and therefore no respecta-
 ble, authority can be produced in support of
 the Pope's spiritual supremacy, or temporal ju-
 risdiction, over Ireland in the end of the sixth
 century.

Of the seventh century, to the commencement of
 which we are come down, we should know but
 little, were it not for the anecdotes of the saints
 which adorn it ; and the same may be said, nearly,
 of the two following. Yet it must be observed,
 that most of those holy and learned men, who
 reflected so much honour on this island, flourished
 chiefly in foreign countries.

The festival of St. Fiacre is said to be observed
 in most of the Diocesses of France. A hymn, re-
 cited at it, is to be seen hung up in the Church
 of

of St. Maturin in Paris; part of which runs thus:

Lucernæ novæ specula
Illustratur HIBERNIA,
Coruscat Meldis insula
Tantæ lucis præsentia,
Illa misit *Fiacrium*:

Hæc missum habet radium,
Habent commune gaudium,
Hæc patrem, illa filium.

Now behold Hibernia shine
With uncommon light divine,
And the distant Meldis flames
With the lustre of his beams.
That Fiacre sent away,
This receives the filial ray,
Both partake the common joy,
This the father, that the boy.

St. Aidan was of the Abbey of Hy, but born in Ireland, as Colgan asserts: which is confirmed by the writer of the life of St. Oswald, where, speaking of Aidan, he says, “He was undoubtedly an Irishman; for in that age none were called Scots but the Irish.” He converted the Northumbrians, and is commended, by the venerable Bede, as a person of superlative virtue and sanctity. Yet, after a long enumeration of his miracles, he cannot conceal the wrong side of his character, which was, *that he did not celebrate the festival of Easter after the Roman manner.* “This, however, he palliates by observing, that he either did it out of ignorance of the canonical time, or was overcome by the authority of his nation.” From whence, by the way, we observe that Ireland was not subservient to the See of Rome in the seventh century.

As

As a further testimony in favour of this Irish Saint, I shall take leave to transcribe a passage from *A view of the State of Knowledge, Literature and Taste in England, from the earliest times to the Norman conquest*. “When Oswald (King of Northumberland), was desirous of converting his subjects, he sent to the Scotch monastery of Iona, from whence, at length, he received Aidan, a man who deserves to be raised from the obscurity of the times, and to be mentioned with singular veneration and esteem. It is, on all hands, agreed that he was a most accomplished and excellent person. He was as learned as any of his contemporaries; and we may consider, as a full proof of it, the peculiar care he took to have schools erected for the instruction of youth. He likewise, earnestly recommended, both to the clergy and laity, a diligent and constant study of the scriptures; being sensible that this was the only way of promoting a genuine and rational knowledge of divine truth. It is not our intention to search out obscure names; and therefore we shall content ourselves with observing, that our country was as much, if not more, indebted for the light of the gospel to AIDAN, his disciples and successors, as it was to the boasted labours of the Italian missionaries.”

St. Finan succeeded Aidan in the Bishopric of Lindisfarne, to the Government of which he was invited by King Oswin. And it is recorded of him, that he built a Church in the island of Lindisfarne after the manner of his country, that is to say, of fawn timber covered with thatch. In which rude manner all the Churches and Monasteries continued to be erected in Ireland, for several centuries after this.

Colman

Colman was also Bishop of Lindisfarne, but more celebrated for his zeal in Germany :

Undaunted Colman, greatly sprung,
From royal ancestors is fung;
Fair Austria's guardian saint, a star
From Scotia's western clime afar.
While he intent on pious calls,
Pass'd to the Solymean walls
Abandoning his native soil,
And rest, to combat foreign toil.
He scorn'd the regal pomp, the gem,
The sceptre, crown and diadem;
In other climes to serve the Lord,
An exile of his own accord;
Within his pure and faithful breast,
He gain'd the mansions of the blest.
Through various nations while he past,
At Rhætia's bounds arrived at last,
The goodly memorable sage,
A victim fell to Pagan rage.

St. Kilian was companion to Colman, and is called the Apostle of Franconia. Cummianus also descended from Conal Gulbain, Prince of Tyrconnell, became Abbot of Hy. A long letter, or essay, of his, upon the Paschal Controversy, is preserved in the SYLLOGE, which appears to be a very learned performance. He, it seems, changed his opinion and came over to the Roman rite and time of celebrating Easter. *Sic lixatur de lana caprina.*

Maidulphus, an Irish Monk, is said to have founded a Monastery at Ingleborne, now Malmesbury, and to have opened a school there, which sent out many eminent scholars, of whom St. Aldelm was the chief; who, according to Camden, was the first Saxon who ever wrote in Latin, and the first who taught

taught the Saxons the way of composing Latin verse, as he himself expresses it.

“ Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita superfit
“ Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.”

I, to my country first, if fates permit,
Will bring the Muses from their native seat.

But Columbanus is the glory not only of this country, which gave him birth, but of the age in which he lived. Originally a Monk of Bangor, in the County of Down, he passed into Britain, where, having acquired the most exalted character for piety and learning, he is said to have founded that monastery, of the same name, which grew into such celebrity in after times. But disgusted at the petty disputes about the ecclesiastical tonsure, which it seems were sufficient to inflame the Britons, he went over to Burgundy, and fixing his residence, for a school, in an old ruinous castle called Luxeuil, his disciples increased so fast upon him that he converted it into a Monastery, which soon became a model for others. And, having built another at Fontaine, he made it subject to that of Luxeuil, whence they say originated *Priories*, which being founded by Abbeys, are subject to them.

He adhered to the Irish mode of celebrating Easter, and wrote several letters to justify his practice; and other works, some of which are lost. The following specimens will shew either how much or how little that loss is to be regretted.

EPISTOLA S. COLUMBANI HIBERNI.

O Tu Vita, quantos decepisti, quantos seduxisti,
quantos excœcasti! Quæ dum fugis, nihil es, dum
videris umbra es; dum exaltaris fumus es, quæ quo-
tidie fugis, et quotidie venis; quæ veniendo fugis, &
fugiendo

fugiendo venis : dissimilis eventu, similis ortu ; dissimilis luxu, similis fluxu ; dulcis stultis, amara sapientibus. Qui te amant, non te sciunt ; & qui te contemnunt, ipsi te intelligunt. Ergo non es vera, sed fallax. Te ostendis quasi veram, te reducis quasi fallacem. Quid ergo es humana Vita ? via es mortaliū, & non vita, a peccato incipiens usq; ad mortem, &c. &c.

Lest the remainder of this letter, which is a long one, might fatigue the reader, I shall present him with one of his Acrostics, which is but short.

EJUSDEM COLUMBANI AD HUNALDUM.

Casibus innumeris decurrunt tempora vitæ :
 Omnia prætereunt, menses volvuntur & anni ;
 Labitur in senium momentis omnibus ætas.
 Ut tibi perpetuam liceat comprehendere vitam,
 Molles illecebras vitæ nunc sperne caducæ.
 Blanda luxuria virtus superatur honesta,
 Ardet avaritia cœcaq; cupidine pectus.
 Nescit habere modum vanis mens dedita curis
 Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
 Summa quies, nil velle super, quam postulat usus.
 Hos ego versiculos misi, tibi sæpe legendos :
 Ut mea dicta tuis admittas auribus, oro.
 Ne te decipiat vana et peritura voluptas.
 Aspice quam brevis est procerum regumque potestas.
 Lubrica mortalis cito transit gloria vitæ.
 Da veniam dictis, fuimus fortasse loquaces,
 Omne quod est nimium, semper vitare memento.

The following will, I expect, atone for its number of lines, by their brevity, and by their allusions to more classical compositions.

E J U S D E M C O L U M B A N I
A D F E D O L I U M.

ACCIPE quæso,
Nunc bipedali
Condita versu
Carminulorum
Munera parva:
Tuque frequenter
Mutua nobis
Obsequiorum
Debita redde.
Nam velut æstu,
Flantibus Austris,
Arida gaudent
Imbribus arva;
Sic tua nostras
Missa frequenter
Lætificabit
Pagina mentes.
Non ego posco
Nunc perituræ
Munera gazæ:
Non, quod avarus
Semper egendo
Congregat, aurum:
Quod sapientum
Lumina cœcat,

Et

Et velut ignis
 Flamma perurit
 Improba corda.
 Sæpe nefanda
 Crimina multis
 Suggestit auri
 Dira cupido.
 E quibus ista
 Nunc tibi pauca
 Tempore prisco
 Gesta retexam.

Exstitit ingens
 Causa malorum
 Aurea pellis.
 Corruit auri
 Munere parvo
 Cœna Dearum ;
 Ac tribus illis
 Maxima lis est
 Orta Deabus.
 Hinc populavit
 Trojugenarum
 Ditia regna
 Dorica pubes.

Juraque legum
 Fasque fidesque
 Rumpitur auro.
 Impia quippe
 Pigmalionis
 Regis ob aurum
 Gesta leguntur,
 Sic Polydorum
 Hospes avarus
 Incitus auro
 Fraude necavit.

Fœmina sæpe
 Perdit ob aurum

Casta

Casta pudorem.
Non * Jovis auri
Fluxit in imbre:
Sed quod adulter
Obtulit aurum,
Aureus ille
Fingitur imber.
Amphiaräum
Prodidit auro
Perfida conjunx.
Hectoris heros
Vendidit auro
Corpus Achilles.
Et referari
Munere certo
Nigra feruntur
Limina Ditis.
Nunc ego possem
Plura referre,
Ni brevitatis
Causa vetaret.

Hæc tibi, Frater
Inclite, parva
Litterularum
Munera mittens,
Suggero vanas
Linquere curas.
Desine, quæso,
Nunc animosos
Pascere pingui
Farre caballos:
Lucraque lucris
Accumulando,
Desine nummis
Addere nummos.

* Casus Recti.

Ut

Ut quid iniquis
 Confociaris,
 Munera quorum
 Crebra receptas?
 Odit iniqui
 Munera Christus.
 Hæc sapienti
 Despicienda,
 Qui fugitivæ
 Atque caducæ
 Cernere debet
 Tempora vitæ.

Sufficit autem
 Ista loquaci
 Nunc cecinisse
 Carmina versu.
 Nam nova forsan
 Esse videtur
 Ista legenti
 Formula versus.
 Sed tamen illa
 Trojugenarum
 Inclita Vates
 Nomine Sappho,
 Versibus istis
 Dulce solebat
 Edere carmen.

Si tibi cura
 Forte volenti
 Carmina tali
 Condere versu,
 Semper ut unus
 Ordine certo
 Dactylus istic
 Incipiat pes :
 Inde sequenti
 Parte trochæus
 Proximus illi
 Rite locetur.

Sæpe

Sæpe duabus
 Claudere longis
 Ultima versus
 Jure licebit.
 Tu modo, Frater
 Alme *Fedoli*,
 Nectare nobis
 Dulcior omni,
 Floridiora
 Doctiloquorum
 Carmina linquens,
 Frivola nostra
 Suscipe lætus.
 Sic tibi *Christus*,
 Arbiter orbis,
 Omnipotentis
 Unica proles,
 Dulcia vitæ
 Gaudia reddat :
 Qui fine fine,
 Nomine Patris
 Cuncta gubernans
 Regnat in ævum.

Hæc tibi dictaram morbis oppressus acerbis,
 Corpore quos fragili patior, tristisque senectæ.
 Nam dum præcipiti labuntur tempora cursu,
 Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senos venimus annos.
 Omnia prætereunt, fugit irreparabile tempus.
 Vive, vale lætus, tristisque memento senectæ.

COLUMBANUS

COLUMBANUS TO FEDOLIUS.

Translated by the Rev. J. W.

SHOULD fondness excuse,
What fancy designs,
To shackle the Muse
In verse of short lines :

And should the Nymph deign
The gift to defend,
And smile with her chain,
How blest were your friend !

Your love next employ
Some return t' impart,
You'll perfect the Joy—
Which flows to my heart.

For as the parch'd plain
Its bosom unbinds,
To catch the soft rain
When scorch'd by hot winds :

My heart feels on fire
To hear still from you ;
To cool its desire
Thy words are the dew.

More precious this prize,
Than the mould'ring heaps
Of treasure, that flies
And always escapes.

Whose

Whose owner must want;
 By starving it thrives,
 It lives upon scant,
 And dies, if he lives.

Thirst fatal of gold!
 The wise, ev'n, are blind,
 When thou gettest hold
 And taintest the mind!

Not fleeter the blaze
 Its ruin to spread,
 Than thou art to seize
 The heart and the head.

And then to suggest
 Crimes horrid to tell—
 Were thy deeds not suppress'd,
 To volumes they'd swell.

What a bustle in Greece,
 To Asia a storm,
 Was rais'd by a fleece,
 Thy fanciful form.

No wonder it's thought,
 Nor wonder can be,
 Since Goddesses fought
 And scrambled for thee.

Whilst vengeance they hurl'd—
 Through the nether world—
 Their foes to destroy;
 The party prevail'd,
 Which Ilium assail'd,
 And ransack'd poor Troy.

How hallow'd the awe
 Inspired by gold,
 The most sacred law
 For it will be sold?

Pygmalion we know
 To greatness a stain—
 Though a king—stoop'd so low
 As to murder for gain.

And sad Polydore,
 He too, a king's guest,
 On the savage shore,
 Gold's power confest.

How oft do the fair
 Yield up their chaste charms,
 Seduc'd by this snare,
 Not love, to our arms?

And poets may frame
 Golden showers with ease,
 And hide Danae's shame,
 In what show'rs they please.

We know the deceit
 And the veil can remove,
 The spoiler was great,
 And therefore a Jove.

No union in life,
 But gold can invade,
 Thus Amphi'rau's wife
 Her husband betray'd.

Achilles himself,
 Tho' pity he spurn'd,
 Was soften'd by pelf,
 And Hector return'd.

And Pluto's own gate
 Tho' barred by Fate
 To money is free;
 For the porter below,
 As stories here go,
 Is fond of a fee.

Should what you now hear
 Unworthy thy breast,—
 But banish your care;
 My heart were at rest.

But was it my end
 A thousand things more
 To such a dear friend,
 Are in memory's store.

Methinks you exclaim
 Enough at this time—
 But tell us whence came
 This talkative rhyme?—

I answer again,
 Tho' new it appears,
 It well can obtain
 The sanction of years:

For Sappho's sweet song
 Whilst genius remains,
 The fame shall prolong
 Of such favour'd strains.

EPISTOLA EJUSDEM COLUMBANI,
RHYTHMICA.

Mundus iste transit, & quotidie decrescit :
 Nemo vivens manebit, nullus vivus remansit.
 Totum humanum genus ortu utitur pari,
 Et de simili vita fine cadit æquali.
 Deferentibus vitam mors incerta subripit :
 Omnes superbos vagos mœror mortis corripit.
 Quod pro Christo largiri nolunt, omnes avari
 Importune omittunt : post se colligunt * ali.
 Parvum ipsi viventes Deo dare vix audent :
 Morti cuncta relinquunt ; nihil de ipsis habent.
 Quotidie decrescit vita præsens, quam amant :
 Indeficiens manet sibi pœna quam parant.
 Lubricum, quod labitur, conantur colligere.
 Et hoc, quod se seducit, minus timent credere.
 Dilexerunt tenebras tetras magis quam lucem : †
 Imitari contemnunt vitæ Dominum Ducem.
 Velut in somnis regnent, una hora lætantur :
 Sed æterna tormenta adhuc illis parantur.
 Cæci nequaquam vident quid post obitum restat
 Peccatori impio quod impietas præstat.
 Cogitare convenit te hæc cuncta, Amice :
 Absit tibi amare hujus formulam vitæ.
Omnis caro ut fœnum, flagrans licet florida : ‡
Sicq, quasi flos fœni omnis ejus gloria.
 Orto sole arefcit fœnum, & flos deperit :
 Sic est omnis juvenus, virtus cum defecerit.
 Vultus Christi radius præ cunctis amabilis,
 Magis diligendus est, quam flos carnis fragilis.
 Caveto, filiule, seminare species,
 Quas mox ingreditur non parva pernicies.

K 2

Pleriq,

* Id. est alteri.

† Joh. 3. 19.

‡ Esai. 40. 6.

1 Pet. 1. 24.

Jacob. 1. 11.

Pleriq, perpeffi sunt pœnarum incendia ;
 Voluntatis lubricæ nolentes dispendia.
 Poculum impiiffimæ noli tu bibere ;
 Unde multos plerumq, vides lætos ridere.
 Nam quoscumque videris ridere inaniter ;
 Scito in noviffimis quod flebunt amariter.
 Confpice, Chariffime, fic effe libidinem,
 Ut morfum mortiferum, quod vincit dulcedinem.
 Noli pronus pergere per vias mortalium :
 Quam multis eveniffe confpicis naufragium ?
 Perge inter laqueos cum fufpenfis pedibus ;
 Per quos captos cæteros incautos comperimus.
 De terrenis eleva tui cordis oculos :
 Ama amantiffimos Angelorum populos.
 Beata familia, quæ in altis habitat :
 Ubi fenex non gemat, neq; infans vagiat ;
 Ubi non efuritur, ubi numquam fititur :
 Ubi cibo fuperno plebs cœleftis pascitur.
 Ubi nemo moritur, quia nemo nascitur :
 Ubi aula regia [ac] cœleftis pascitur.
 Ubi vita viridis veraque eft futura :
 Quam nec mors, nec mœroris metus, eft confumptura.
 Læti leto tranfacto lætum Regem videbunt ;
 Cum regnante regnabunt, cum gaudentè gaudebunt.
 Tunc dolor, tunc tædium, tunc labor delebitur :
 Tunc Rex Regum, Rex mundi, a mundis videbitur.

TRANSLATED

TRANSLATED BY THE SAME.

THE world itself rolls daily to its wane ;
 If then it fades, shall man, vain man, remain ?
 Whom equal birth but equal honour gave,
 Claims he exemption from the common grave ?
 Hopes he that law of nature to defy,
 By which the dead have dy'd, the living die ?
 On what presumption—hath the bravest breath'd
 Beyond the space Creation first bequeath'd ?
 Of all their boasted triumphs point me one
 O'er death, to swell the list of their renown.
 Alas ! not one—when he descends to strike
 The bravest, proudest—all—submit alike.
 Vainly the Miser toils to heap a store,
 Vainly he starves himself and cheats the poor.
 Forc'd to be lib'ral at his latest breath,
 And what he sav'd from God—resign to Death ;
 Some Spendthrift riots in his ill-got gold—
 And dissipates the hoard before he's cold.
 Fondly the pleasures of this life we prize,
 Fondly the terrors of the next despise ;
 Grasping at that which glides, and mocks our hold,
 And where we should be cautious blindly bold ;
 We leave the guide of day to plunge in night,
 And love the foulest darkness more than light.
 An hour of sway—A transitory reign,
 A dream of bliss—are all we here can gain, }
 And yet for these we hazard endless pain ; }
 Braving the pangs which on the wicked wait—
 And all the horrors of an unknown state.
 Not so thy choice—though vice herself array—
 In ev'ry splendour,—take the virtuous way :
 Believe Isaiah's hallow'd words—which say,
 “ Flesh is as grass ”—and feels a like decay—
 The fairest flow'r, whose beauty tempts the eye,
 Blooms but a short existence ere it die—

The

The fairest forms that yet of earth were made
 Share the same fate—and, like the flower, fade;
 As shrinks the flow'r beneath the scorching ray,
 So droops the youth whom vice hath taught to stray;
 Though others drink her poison'd cup and smile,
 Let not their mirth thine appetite beguile;
 False is the joyous semblance which appears,
 The cup of Vice is still the cup of tears.
 Search not her haunts to happiness unknown—
 True happiness is Virtue's gift alone—
 Warn'd by the wrecks thou see'st on ev'ry side,
 Trust not her dang'rous hand thy course to guide;
 Let no temptation thy pure soul entice,
 To one base action which thy thoughts despise—
 Raise thy mind's eye to scenes of bliss above,
 Where Angels dwell in never-ending love.
 Where age its groans—its weakness youth resigns,
 Where the soul ne'er in thirst or hunger pines:
 Where feeds the crowd on heav'nly food alone—
 Where pangs of Birth and Death are both unknown:
 Where the true life—for ever green appears—
 Nor chang'd by sorrows, nor consum'd by years. *
JONAS

* Hymnus S. Notkeri Balbuli, de S. Columbano Abbate.

Nostri solemnis sæculi
 Refulget dies inclyta,
 Quo facer cœlos Columba
 Ascendit ferens trophœa.
 Sed priusquam eum mater
 In auras lucis ederat,
 E sinu solem prospexit
 Terris lumen diffundere,
 Qui post altus Hibernia,
 Sacro edoctus dogmate,
 Gallica arva adiens
 Plebi salutem tribuit
 Aegri sanantur ocius
 Nautis producit latius,
 Piscis in usum præbetur,

Cedit

JONAS succeeded Columbanus in the government of the Abbey of Luxeuil, and is thence called *the Abbot*. He wrote the life of his master and predecessor; in the preface to which he modestly excuses himself for want of eloquence. “ I will
“ not,

Cedit imber a segete.
Prolem capit sterilis,
Ales rapinam reddidit
Fanis horrea augentur
Abscissa caro sospes est.
Tactus vidit, nec cernitur,
Sentit damna ergastulum,
Fugit pestis ab homine
Quam Dæmon sævus miserat.
Ligeri scapham retinet
Ablato furto prodeunt,
Cæcusque lumen recipit,
Præbendo cibus augetur.
In esca sales veniunt
Færæ jussis obediunt,
Fides patrari conscia
Novit quod possit omnia.
Deo patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli filio
Cum Spiritu paraclyto
Et nunc et in perpetuum. Amen.

In S. S. Columbam Hyenssem, & Columbanum, alias Colum-
bam, Luxoviensem & Bobiensem, Abbates.

Insula sanctorum est geminos enixa Columbas,
Queis totus similes non tulit orbis aves
Par Divum absq; pari est, Monachumq; par omnibus impar,
Nam nequent huic par jure referre pari.
Coenobiis implent Eoa atque ultima Thulæ,
Cellicolis cælum coelicolisque solum,
Nam cellas tanti soles & sidera cælos
Fecerunt, cælum queis sua cella fuit.
Tamque fuere pares cellæ, Coelique Columbis;
Pro cellis cælos ut Deus ipse daret.
Ergo Columbinis, quæ scandere sidera pennis
Fauftæ alienigenas instituitis aves;
Nos etiam patrios, avibus volitando secundis,
Pullos, Dædalia ducite ad astra manu.

Hugo Vardeus Minorita Hibernus.

“ not, says he, compare myself to other learned
 “ Doctors, for they are rich in the tears of the bal-
 “ sam of Engeddi, and embellished with the flowers
 “ of the spices of Arabia; but to us, from Ireland,
 “ it is scarce allowed that our butter is fat :” *Nobis
 ex Hibernia vix butyrum pinguescit.*

St. Gall, the Patron of Switzerland, proceeded from the same school of Columbanus. The biographer of St. Kilian speaks thus of him : “ This
 “ Scot was born in Ireland, as was also Columba-
 “ nus and *Gallus*.—I have heard it out of the mouth
 “ of an Irish person that the mother of St. *Gall*
 “ was a woman of Royal blood.” One of his letters, to which I refer, is preserved in the Sylloge, intituled, *Epistola S. Galli HIBERNI ad Desiderium Cadurcensem Episcopum.*

Some years later in the same century another Irishman became very eminent abroad : “ Adam-
 “ nanus gente Scoto-Hibernus, Monachus & Pres-
 “ byter, defuncto Failbeo, Anno 679 in regimen
 “ cænobii Hyensis successit.” So says *Cave* from multiplied authorities ; yet, if I mistake not, this is one of those Literati, whom Dempster has kidnapped from us. Many other Irish scholars might be enumerated as ornaments of the seventh century both abroad and at home.

Among these was *Cean-Faodlab*, or *Ceanfaela*, or *Cinfala*, an author who does not appear to have travelled, as those of his countrymen did who obtained such celebrity, by writing in Latin, that even a catalogue of their works deserves to be remembered. Several poetical pieces are, however, ascribed to him ; the titles of which, being in Irish, it would not edify, most readers, to transcribe. But that he was very eminent, at home, is evident from this, that he obtained the sur-name of THE WISE. The death of *Cinfala the wise* is carefully recorded both in the annals of Tigernach and of Ulster, as taking place about the year 678, or 679. This is that
 Ceanfaela

Ceanfaela whom we have, above, seen called a JURISCONSULT, No. 5, *Collect. de rebus Hib.* and whom we may see made a Grammarian of, by the author of that number, in his Irish Grammar, pag. 8. 4to. Ed. There it is said, that “*Ceanfaolidh* or “*Kinfaolidh* the learned, transcribed and illustrated “the most ancient grammar of the Irish language “NOW EXTANT, intitled *Uraiceact na Neigeos*, or “Primer of the Bards, written by *Forchern* SOME “FEW YEARS BEFORE OUR VULGAR ÆRA.”

Concerning which it is to be presumed, that the following extract from it—“*Maoi diona beaos fuait* “*litera na n Ebre iar na sgribeadh da laimb de* “*asleabh Sina ag tidnocal reachda do Maoisi. Estras* “*immurro iar Maoisi:*” i. e. ‘Moses received the ‘Hebrew letters from the hand of God, with the ‘laws written by him, on Mount Sinai. But Es- ‘dras invented other letters after Moses:’ I say it is to be presumed that this passage was the *illustration* of Ceanfaela:—For it is hard to conceive that the heathen Irish were so deeply read in the sacred literature. Yet the Colonel attributes it to the AUTHOR of the *Irish Uraiceact*; and, to give his assertion the greater weight, he informs you that *Grotius*, *Morinus*, *Vossius*, *Bochart*, *Scaliger*, *Hieronymus*, and *Eusebius*, are of the same opinion with that most learned AUTHOR of the *Uraiceact na Neigeos*. •

It will not, I trust, be imputed to me, here, as an unpardonable digression, if I stop to express my astonishment how the Colonel obtained “*the number, or-* “*der, and names of the letters, according to Forchern’s* “*Uraiceact*,” which, he says, was written a little before the Christian æra; especially when we advert to

* It may not be altogether unworthy of notice, that in Lhuyd’s catalogue of Irish M. S. S. mention is made of this same work, there spelled *Uraicept*, and, translated *a book for the education of Youth* (N. B. Toland translates it the *Accidence of Artists*) is attributed to *Confoilus Sapiens*, without any mention whatever of *Forchern*.

to what he himself, in a strain of lamentation, expresses, upon the subject of the Druidical learning, which must, if ever, have flourished at that time: “ We are sorry that it is not in our power to quote
 “ any passage of the Druidical Ogham, such books
 “ not having fallen into our hands.”

Now would not a reader of plain understanding have expected that a Grammar, written before the Christian æra, for the instruction of a people, whose Divines and Lawgivers were Druids, should have at least exhibited the Druidical character. But this we see was not the case. Yet our author avers, that “ before the writing on parchment was
 “ introduced by St. Patrick, the Irish had two al-
 “ phabets, one for the Druids, and another for the
 “ Bards.” At which *ignotum per ignotius* I suppose our wonder is to cease: especially when in another place he confesses, that “ no other characters have
 “ been found in use among the ancient Irish, but
 “ the old Roman or Etruscan.”

But this author is generally fortunate enough to bring to light, from his dark treasures of recondite antiquarianism, sufficient matter to overturn whatever system he would establish. Thus when he would display the literature of the Irish (not before, but) after Christianity was established among them, his express words are: “ No Irish manuscripts *still*
 “ extant, or even in Mr. Lhuyd’s time, can with
 “ any well grounded authority, be esteemed of
 “ higher antiquity than the beginning of the ninth
 “ century, or at most the end of the eighth.” But a chronological *Boustrophedon* will reduce such trifling discordancies to harmony, with as much ease as the lion shakes the dew drops off his mane.

But if we are enlightened, not corrupted by reading, we should at length understand, that if those fragments of antiquity, which are handed down to us, have not only escaped the censure of the unlearned ages, but have obtained praise in this one,
 it

it is because they have acquired an accidental value, as so many *data* for the philosophy of the human mind ; as salient points from whence the curious and inquisitive may trace a gradual progression from rudeness to refinement, and mark the national character, in its several stages, from its first dawn of illumination, discovered in essays of fiction and imagination, to its meridian altitude, crowned with the classical works of history and judgment. For this, a man of taste may sometimes brush off a cobweb from an old paper or parchment ; for this, he may sometimes rake into the foundations of an old church or monastery ; and for this, he may creep into a *Tumulus* or explore a *Stonehenge* ; but he need neither sting his hands with nettles, nor dirty them with filth. And a writer on such subjects, instead of fledging them with borrowed feathers, should rather clip the wings of original error. We are to expect, from the Antiquaries of the present day, a judicious separation and selection of matter, a careful distinction of times and places, and a nice discrimination between the probable and improbable, the possible and impossible. He who fails egregiously in all these respects (though small faults in every line are venial) must expect, that, whilst the learned stare, and the compassionate pity, he cannot fail to furnish satire with shafts, and ridicule with smiles.

S E C T. VIII.

IN the eighth century shined forth that great luminary *Virgilius*, from his love of solitude surnamed, *Solivagus*. He went, however, from Ireland in company with seven others, as was the custom of those days, to visit the Holy Land. And remarkable it is, that one of the stars, which (if I may use the figure) made up this constellation of piety, was a Grecian Bishop. On which circumstance our learned Primate, Usher, has this memorable observation: “I should be surpris’d to hear of a Grecian
 “leaving Ireland upon such an expedition, did I
 “not know, that at Trim in the county of Meath
 “there is a sacred edifice, which, to this day, re-
 “tains the name of the *Greek Church*.”

His biographer, from the chronicles of the Scoto-Hibernian Abbey at Ratissbon, says, he was *natione Hibernicus ex nobile progenie ortus*, an Irishman of a noble family; and the letter of Pope Zachary, more of which we shall soon see, is intitled *de causa Virgilii Hiberni*, &c. He was graciously received, and, for near two years, entertained by Pepin king of the Franks, and by him recommended to the guardianship of the Abbey of Saltzburg, and at length he was appointed Bishop of that See. During his government of which, he was engaged in a controversy with Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz. Some ignorant Priest had, it seems, baptized the children in bad Latin, and the Archbishop thought it necessary to have them baptized over again. But Virgil withstood him

him in this, and maintained that the want of grammatical knowledge in the Minister, did not invalidate the Ministration of the Ordinance. An appeal was made to the Pope, who decreed, that Boniface, maintained an error, and that Virgilius held nothing, in that point, but sound doctrine.

But he was not so lucky in respect to his philosophical opinions. He had been the reputed author of a treatise on the *antipodes*, in which he held the sphericity of the earth, and combated the opinions of Lactantius, Augustine, and other fathers of the church, who supposed that the earth had a plain surface. His old antagonist, Boniface, accused him to the Pope of holding and propagating heretical doctrines. And such was the undistinguishing blindness of that age, even in the highest stations, that the Pope writes in the following manner to Boniface:

“ But concerning that profane and wicked doctrine,
 “ which Virgilius hath broached against God, and
 “ to the perdition of his own soul, if it shall ap-
 “ pear that he maintains it, *that there is another*
 “ *world, and other men under the earth*, let him, upon
 “ calling a council, be excommunicated and de-
 “ graded.” “ De perversa autem & iniqua doc-
 “ trina, quam contra Deum et animam suam locu-
 “ tus est, si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri,
 “ quod alius mundus est, et alii homines sub terras
 “ sint, hunc, accito concilio, ab Ecclesia pelle, sa-
 “ cerdotii honore privatum.”

From which it appears that neither the Pope, nor his council, understood the doctrine supposed to have been broached by Virgil. For though he maintained that the inhabitants of the different hemispheres must have their feet diametrically opposite to each other, he did not dream that there were other men under the earth, or another sun, or another moon.

But it was, is, and ever will be, the fate of men, who rise above the standard of the times they live in,

in, to be first misunderstood, next misrepresented, and at last approved and followed. But they are followed, when approbation or contempt are quite indifferent, when they are sunk into the grave, perhaps overwhelmed by the obloquy and persecution of bigots, who cannot distinguish between innovation and reformation, whether in philosophy, religion or politics.

This great man sentenced to degradation, upon his conviction of being a *Mathematician*, by Pope Zachary, in the eighth century, is canonized by Pope Gregory IX. in the thirteenth. I call *him* great who had acuteness sufficient to pierce the depths of science in an unscientific age, and who had courage to publish sentiments so repugnant to popular opinion and personal aggrandizement.

In the same century also flourished *Sedulius Scotigena*, as he subscribes himself, and sometimes called *Secundus*, to distinguish him from *Cælius Sedulius*, of whom I have spoken above. To him is ascribed a “book entitled, “*Concordantia Hispaniæ atque*
 “*Hiberniæ a Sedulio Scoto, genere Hibernienfi,*
 “*& Episcopo Oretensi.*” But his principal work is his Annotations upon the Epistles of St. Paul. Primate Usher, in his discourse of the religion anciently professed by the Irish, frequently cites them. And indeed his opinions, respecting the supremacy of the Pope, are worthy of the most enlightened age. “The foundation of the Church, says
 “he, is attributed to Christ, to the Apostles and to
 “the Prophets. It is certain, that by the rock or
 “stone, mentioned by Esaias, Christ is signified.
 “And though, in the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, it be said that the household of God is
 “founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, yet
 “Christ himself is called the corner-stone; so that
 “he is the foundation of the Apostles themselves:
 “in whom all the building fitly framed together
 “groweth into an holy temple to the Lord, by
 “him

“ him both founded and finished, and we are to
 “ account the Apostles as ministers of Christ, and
 “ not as the foundation of his church.”

And how much he was an enemy to that worship of saints, and images, which even Gregory the Great had patronised, is evident from the following passage: “ It is iniquity, says that schoolman, to adore any other being than God.” And he reproves the Heathens for having supposed that “ the
 “ invifible Author of nature could be worshipped in
 “ a vifible image.”

In the beginning of the ninth century, Albin and Clement forfook, this, their native country, then grievoufly oppreffed by the Danes; and after vifiting England, paffed into France, where they were employed by the Emperor Charlemagne in the education of youth, and became the firft profefors of two famous feminaries, the one in Paris, the other in Pavia. For that great Prince, though he had not learned to write, at leaft in his youth, became a great patron of learning, as he certainly was of the church of Rome; which he and his father invefted with fuch temporalities as enabled the Popes, in fucceeding ages, to lord it over every fovereign power in Chriftendom. But this by the way.

As the country of Albin is contefted by the Englifh, and of both Albin and Clement by the Scotch, let us examine into the opinion of Sir James Ware that they were both of Ireland. He fays, that *Notkerus Balbulus* removes the doubt touching the native country of *Clement* and *Albin*, in his life of Charles the Great. But before we give his citation from Notker, be it obferved, that this Notker was a Monk of the Abbey of St. Gall, that Abbey, of which an Irifhman was, not only the Patron Saint but, the founder, as we have feen in the laft Section; which circumftance, however, is not fo cogent as the following: Notker flourifhed in the age next to Albin and Clement; whereas Polydore Virgil lived

lived in the 16th century. He was an Italian sent over to collect the papal tribute, called *Peter's pence*, and at the command of Henry VII. wrote a history of England; which, as M. Bayle rightly observes, the English do not much value; yet they always cite it as authority for the birth-place of *Albin*, whom the Italian mistook for *Alcuin*.

And now let us hear what Notker relates of these two famous men. “*Contigit duos Scotos de Hibernia cum mercatoribus Britannis ad littus Galliae devenire, viros & in secularibus & in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos, &c.*” It happened that two Scots from Ireland, men incomparably skilled in humanity and divinity, landed on the coast of France with some English merchants, of whom when they saw the people buying their wares, and having nothing to expose for sale, they cried out aloud to the multitude, *If any body wants wisdom let him come to us and buy, for we have it to sell.* This they did to rouse the attention and attract the notice of the people, who, at first, thought them out of their wits. But at length finding them to be in their sober minds, some of them gave an account of their proceedings to the King, who without delay sent for them; and when they were admitted into his presence, he demanded whether what Fame reported of them was true, that they carried wisdom with them for sale? They made answer, that they had it, and were willing to impart it to such as were worthy to receive it. Upon being asked what they expected in return for their knowledge, they replied, ingenuous souls, food and raiment, and apartments to teach in. This answer gave great satisfaction to the King; who immediately entertained them himself, and soon put the youth of the highest quality under their tuition. And, enlarging his views, he formed a school or seminary, with competent provisions for the habitation of scholars in Paris, over
 “ which

“ which he set Albin, and sent Clement to Italy,
 “ where he assigned him the monastery of St. Augus-
 “ tine, near Ticinum, for the instruction of youth.”

Notker further observes, that, “ *Alcuin*, an Eng-
 “ lishman, having heard how graciously the most
 “ religious King Charles entertained these wise men,
 “ took shipping and went to him.” This similitude of name, and perhaps a wish to compliment the nation, whose history he had undertaken, occasioned Polydore Virgil to say that Albin was an Englishman.

As to the pretensions of the Scotch, they are founded on the forgery of *Hector Boetius*, who suppresses the very words *de Hibernia*, which ascertain the country of both Albin and Clement, and only retains *duos Scotos*. And, under this ambiguity of name, he is followed by Dempster, Lesly, M'Kenzie, and others of his countrymen since. It should not be forgotten, that Notker's authority is strengthened by the following extract from the chronicles of *Arles*, preserved by John Ross of Warwick: “ Florentibus in his diebus, in Hibernia,
 “ studiis liberalibus præ cæteris regnis contigit duos
 “ Scotos, monachos de Hibernia, cum mercatoribus
 “ Britannicis ad littus Galliæ devenire, &c.

But the birth-place of *John Scotus* is much better ascertained; even if the sur-name *Erigena* had not put it past dispute. The name of Scotus having now, in the ninth century, become common both to the natives of Ireland and Albany, it was found necessary to distinguish them by closer appellatives; and accordingly we now hear of *Scoto-Hibernus* and *Scoto-Britannus*, and, in the case of our philosopher, of *Scotus Erigena*, *i. e.* the Scot of Irish birth.

He was a man eminent both for natural and acquired endowments; for splendor of wit and solidity of judgment. The matter of his Five Books *de*
 L *Divisione*

Divisione Naturæ is highly commended; but their stile is censured as deviating from the idiom of the Latin, in which they were written, into the paths peculiar to the Greeks. That he was master of the Greek tongue, we may well suppose from his being employed to translate the *Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite. It is difficult for men very conversant in any language to disentangle themselves from its structure and arrangement. And therefore it may, at this day, be doubted whether much reading of Latin be very promotive of purity in the English phraseology.*

At the command of Charles the Bald, he composed a work upon the Eucharist, in opposition to the Doctrines of *Paschasius Radbert*, a monk of Corbey, who asserted that the body and blood of our Saviour, given in the sacrament, is the same flesh that was born of the Virgin, and the same blood that was shed upon the cross. But our author maintained that the sacrament of the Altar is not the real body and blood of Christ, but only a commemoration of his body and blood. Thus we may see, that Transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the church generally received at that time, else he would not have been instigated to write against it by the King of France. Besides, if the opinion of *Paschasius*, had not been an innovation, so many learned churchmen, such as *Raban* (Archbishop of *Mentz*) and *Bertram*, would not have wrote against it. It is true that the Monk of Corbey's doctrine so far prevailed that, in about two hundred years after, when *Berangerius*, Archdeacon of *Angers*, attempted to put a stop to it, by reviving the arguments of *Erigena*, Pope Leo IX. called a council, in

* Milton's History of England affords a strong presumption for this doubt: for we may observe in it throughout, that the structure of the periods, and the arrangement of the words are so close to the Latin idiom, that a schoolboy might translate it into tolerable Latin.

in which he was condemned, for differing from the common opinion. But, as he was condemned unheard, the Pope held another council or synod, and summoned him to appear. To which he did not come in person, and only sent two Ecclesiastics to make his defence; but they, instead of doing so, betrayed his cause. And then *Berangerius* was condemned a second time, and *Erigena's* book, which he had defended, was involved in the same sentence. Now if transubstantiation had been, even at that time, the established doctrine of the church of Rome, would it have been necessary to have called so many councils upon the occasion? for there were not less than three called, beside the two I have mentioned.

The controversy concerning Grace and Predestination was now agitated with all the fury of superstition, and all the casuistry of the schools. *John* was obliged to take a part, but his sentiments were moderate. He acknowledged the grace of God in the mysteries of his mercy towards mankind, but he denied original sin in the latitude of signification then received; and he reprobated that horrible, because damnatory, decree of Predestination.

His writings, as is always the case with such as are controversial, raised against their author a host of enemies. One of his antagonists ironically writes: "Te solum omnium accutissimum Galliae transmisit Hibernia." But if he had foes, he had also friends. Charles the bald was so fond of him that he was his familiar, not only in his closet but at his table: which he enlivened by his festivity of humour and brilliancy of wit. But he could not escape the raillery of the Monarch for his original Irish manners, the awkwardness of which trespassed against the rules of French politeness; "Gallicanam comitatem offenderat."

From France, he passed into England, at the invitation of King Alfred, and is said to have been the first Professor of Geometry and Astronomy, in the University of Oxford. The motive assigned for his leaving the French Court, was a charge of heresy, which was brought against him by the Pope, in a letter which he wrote to Charles, complaining, that Erigena had not submitted to him his translation of the book of Dionysius the Areopagite. However, Anastasius, in a letter to that Prince, expresses his astonishment, “ that such a work could be “ done by a *barbarian*, living in so remote a corner of the world as *Scotia* ;” by which name Ireland *alone* was then called. As a specimen of his poetical talents I produce the following, sent with the translation given by him.

*Epistola Johannis Scoti Erigenæ ad Carolum Calvum.
Francorum regem, A. D. 858. In Areopagitica
Latine a se conversa carmen.*

Hanc libam, sacro Græcorum nectare fartam,
Advena Johannes * spondo meo Carolo.
Maxime Francigenum, cui regia stemmata fulgent;
Munera votiferi sint tibi grata tui.
Vos qui Romuleas nescitis temnere technas,
Attica ne pigeat sumere gymnasia.
Quorum si quædam per me scintilla relucet
Ufibus Aufoniis, si libet aspicite.
Molestum si non nostrum munire laborem,
Firmetur vestri pondere judicii.
Si quid nodosum durumve notetur in ipso;
Parcite, Cecropidis Attica tela sequor.
At si mendosus declinet tramite recto;
Mellifluo vestro famine corrigite.
Quod si quorundam mordetur dente feroci;
Hoc leve, namq; meo contigit Hyeronimo.

Ut

* λαιβην libationem quæ vino fit
A græco σπεινδω quod libare significat.

Ut vero stabilis maneat fundamine firmo ;
 Regali stathmo figere sufficiet.
 Crediderim multos tangentum summa sophiæ
 Non despecturos donula nostra fore.
 Sudorisq; gravis tentabunt carpere fructum :
 Forsan virtutem vilia verba tenent.
 Sæpe solent spinis redolentes crescere flores;
 Nodosæ vitis fumitur uva ferax.

Patrick Abbot of Armagh is said to be the Author of a book of *Homilies* and of *Epistles* to the *Irish*. But he is far more remarkable for his device of a local purgatory; for to him is attributed the invention of that cradle of superstition, the cave of *Lough Derg*, in the county of Donegal; which after him, not our Irish apostle, is to this day called *Patrick's Purgatory*.

The occasion of the imposture was this. The bulk of the Irish nation, however good Christians they are reported to have been, had nevertheless their doubts and their qualms respecting a world to come. "You preach to us, say they, of another life after death, of raptures and tortures, of heaven and of hell, but we want some present earnest of these future and reverfionary things."

Vain would it have been in the clergy of those days to answer those ignorant people:—The author of our religion has already proved this truth by his resurrection, and if you believe not the Scriptures, neither would you believe though one should again rise from the dead. For those people might well answer, this may be all true, but as you do not suffer us to read the scriptures, we have nothing but your bare words for it. Give us then some other evidence, some ocular proof, some outward testimony, which may convince our senses.

To obviate and remove those puzzling objections, the Abbot of Armagh bethought himself of reducing the doctrine of a future state to an argument of fact, capable of human testimony. And then, says he,

he, I shall be able to answer these gross casuists in their own way. “ True it is, that heaven you cannot see before you taste of death, and from hell there is no redemption. To the latter place I would not have you go, and to the former I cannot lead you, if you doubt my words. But as some of you may retain a hardened heart, I will convince such, by shewing them a place which is neither heaven nor hell, but that intermediate place, which we preach up to you, where all your sins will be done away, if you lay aside your unbelief.”

For this purpose he pitched on one of the most dismal and dreary spots in the North, almost inaccessible, through deep glens and rugged mountains, frightful with impending rocks and the hollow murmurs of the western wind in dark caverns, peopled only with such fantastic beings as the mind, however gay, is, from some strange association, wont to appropriate to such gloomy scenes. But what horrible phantoms must they be, which are conjured up in minds simple with credulity, perplexed with doubt, oppressed by guilt, and distracted by despair?

In the midst of these gloomy regions of Donegal, lay a lake which was to become the mystic theatre of this fabled intermediate state. In this lake were several islands, but one of them was dignified with that cave or narrow cell, called the mouth of Purgatory: which during the dark ages attracted the notice of all Christendom, and was the resort of penitents and pilgrims from almost every country in Europe.

*Spirituum hinc thermæ, hinc letheæ piacula, qui se
Balneat hinc Stygii non timet amnis aquas.**

We read of several safe conducts granted by the kings of England to foreigners, who desired to visit it;

* Petrus Cadellus sacerdos Hibernus in Purgatorium sancti Patricii.

it; particularly A. D. 1358, to Nicholas de Beccario a nobleman of Ferrara, and A. D. 1397, to Raymond Viscount de Parilleux and Knight of Rhodes, with a train of twenty men and thirty horses. But it began to give such scandal, even to Popery itself, that Alexander VI. ordered the principal of the Franciscans of Donegal to suppress it, and accordingly the cave was demolished A. D. 1497.—But it must have been repaired again: for in 1630, the government of Ireland gave an order for its final suppression: yet it flourishes to this day, in considerable vigour. A priest called the Prior of Lough Derg, is annually sent to superintend it, by the titular Bishop of Clogher: and this station is reputed a very honourable as well as lucrative appointment.

That the illiterate vulgar should be the dupes of priest-craft we cannot wonder, when the remark of Cicero is an humiliating truth, that “there never was an absurdity so great as not to have some eminent philosopher for its patron.” However, so penetrable to this belief, of an actual purgatorial fire existing in the county of Donegal, were such learned men (far be it from me to call them philosophers) as the thirteenth century produced, that Cæsarius of Heisterbach, a German monk of the Cistercian order, in a writing of his upon Purgatory, has this curious passage: “Qui de purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat & amplius de pætnis purgatorii non dubitabit.—Whoever doubts of Purgatory, let him go to Scotia (viz. old Scotland now Ireland) and he will no longer doubt of the pains of Purgatory.”

Such were the arguments by which such fictions were supported, in ages darker than that in which our lot is fallen; yet so devoted to the antiquity of this illusion was the seventeenth century, that Keating adduces this very passage, contrary to a torrent of authorities, to prove that our Irish Apostle, not

not the Abbot of Armagh, was the inventor of the cave in Lough Derg. He says, that Patrick the Abbot, lived in the year eight hundred and fifty, but that *Cæsarius* lived six hundred years only after the birth of Christ; and consequently could not mention Patrick the Abbot, who must have lived so many years after him. But this anachronism, of our Irish Herodotus, could not have proceeded from mere ignorance, it must have originated in his attachment to purgatory. But let Usher, Cave, or any other chronologist of these times be consulted, and they will all shew that the very *Cæsarius* of Heisterbach whom Keating cites, from the 38th chapter of *his book of dialogues*, flourished A. D. 1225.

Before I enter upon the 10th century, that midnight hour of intellectual darkness, which overspread all christendom, let me take a short review of the progress already made in the history of the church and literature of Ireland. We have brought forward, from the most authentic records, the state of religion and of those controversies in which our most eminent churchmen were engaged, and it must be evident that Ireland was, as yet, free from any subjection to the See of Rome, both in temporals and spirituals. It would, at the same time, be no compliment to our country to observe, that transubstantiation was not yet established *here*, when that and many other corruptions, both in doctrine and discipline, were innovations of the 9th and following centuries, even in the See of Rome itself.

But as it is my purpose to steer as wide of all religious controversy as the nature of my subject will admit, I cannot help pausing a while to reflect upon even those scraps of literature, which I have selected. The sources whence they are drawn are so pure, and the streams themselves so clear, as to wash away every doubt respecting that title, of *Insula sanctorum & doctorum*, which in these early ages was

was so justly bestowed upon Ireland. This I deemed a safer mode of proceeding, and more honourable to my native country, than to recur to Druidical whimsies and fabulous times : times above a thousand years anterior to those we have touched upon. In which the murder of a predecessor by another barbarian, who reigned in his stead, is the burden of the song ; for a song it is, the historians being all poets : But the song itself is too dull for fable, too fictitious for history. We hear indeed of Gomer, Magog and Japheth, of Nil, Shru and Belus, and certain Egyptians, Phenicians, Greeks, &c. from whom Ireland received letters ; and then we are told that, “ the introduction of letters into an uncivilized country, doth not infer the cultivation of the human mind therein. False knowledge may be propagated, or none may be communicated. The uses to which letters have been turned in Ireland, so different from the practice in other Celtic countries, was not owing to a more happy local genius among the inhabitants. Their heavy climate, and other physical causes, led rather to a slower progress in intellectual researches. But it has been owing to one great genius, who set the example, that the nation was, in a manner, new modelled. This was *Ollam Fodla*, who reigned long ; and who, to the authority of a great monarch, joined the influence of a great philosopher, in forming the minds of the national youth.”

And is it thus, that Mr. O’Conor, would repose himself under the vain shadow of antient renown ? Is it thus he consoles himself for that present humiliation which he deplores ? Is it thus he immolates, on the altar he has raised to the *manes* of *Ollam Fodla*, the original and underived honour of his country ? But let us see who this, one, great genius so long departed, this *Ollam Fodla* was. Keating and O’Flagherty place him as the fortieth of the

136 Pagan monarchs, who swayed the Irish sceptre before St. Patrick: so that, allowing eighteen years a piece, according to Sir Isaac Newton's technical chronology, to each king's reign, he must have flourished near thirteen hundred years before the birth of Christ. Yet one of the writers of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* fixes him in the second century; and of course here is a disagreement of about fifteen hundred years between the chronologers of those times. Besides, we are told by Mr. O'Connor himself, and by Mr. Toland before him, that *Ollam* is a general name for *Doctor* in any faculty; and we are also told, that *Fodla* was one of the names of Ireland. Of course, *Ollam Fodla* is literally "the *Doctor of Ireland*." And so Toland translates it, when he gives it as a sur-name to king *Achaius*; who, he says, built the Academy of Tarah, called the Murh-Olamhan, or Court of the learned.

But Mr. O'Connor, as if ashamed of the above assertion, takes care to soften it in a subsequent work; or, possibly, forgetting what he had so long ago written in his *Dissertations*, he does not there attribute such mighty influence to this Irish Doctor: For in the tenth number of the *Collectanea*, published in 1782, he admits that the new comers, the Milesians, were employed chiefly in making room for themselves in an island covered with immense forests:—that as the cultivation of the land was prior to that of the mind, it took some time before *Ollam Fodla* established the college of Teamor: and that of this monarch's regulations, both in his legislative and literary capacities, we have but a slender account. It doth not appear, says he, "that his institutes had much influence down to Kimbath, who was elevated to the throne of Ireland, six generations before the Christian *Æra*."

From all which put together, we may, without further digression, conclude, that this *Ollam Fodla*, this Irish Doctor, this sapient legislator, this great
genius,

genius, this mighty monarch, is a fictitious character, which originated in the creative brain of some vagrant bard, or crawled into existence under the phlegmatic pen of some greasy monk, emulous of a poet's fame; and now varnished anew by the partial pencil of our fond dissertator.

Dr. Warner, under a very singular impulse of moral sentiment, commends his honesty for having owned to him, "that the heat of youth and *amor patriæ* had inclined him to extend the matter (of the antiquities of Ireland) beyond the rigour to which he should have confined himself. This acknowledgment, (continues the Doctor), though it flows from a true greatness of mind, which does him honour, yet shews, that his Dissertations are to be read with caution, and some grains of allowance."

But an appeal is here made to the judicious world to decide, which system does most honour to Ireland? That, which elaborately declaims upon the traditional songs of unlettered bards, and the ill-devised tales of half-learned monks:—or that which, rejecting all suspicion of imposture, would assert our honest claim to a very high antiquity, in the common acceptation of that word, without yielding to an unmanly credulity, and without recurring to a sort of miracle, for the existence of literature and refinement in this sequestered island, when the other British isles, and the whole north-west of Europe, were sunk in barbarism and canopied in ignorance.

No *amor patriæ*, no zeal for the antiquity of his country, can ever atone, for depreciating the genius of its people. For, if he would infix upon our understandings that stigma of blunder, which has hitherto stuck only to our language, what more effectual than such unphilosophical concessions, in respect of a heavy climate, and other physical incapacities?—How can we wonder if foreigners hold such language, when our indigenal advocates give the

the word? Mr. O'Halloran is highly exasperated at the aspersions of Voltaire and Mr. Hume; and still more so, at another Scotchman, for having said, that, "the potatoe plant, on which our common people feed, has debased the character of the nation."* But he expresses no indignation against Mr. O'Connor, because he is a champion for *Ollam Fodla*.

But, Sir John Dalrymple, did not know, it seems, that, though potatoes were first imported into these islands by Sir Walter Raleigh, they did not become the general food of the common Irish, till within these fifty or sixty years at most; and therefore could have had no influence whatever upon the national character, at the period whereof he has given so many suspicious memoirs.

It is, however, not unworthy of notice, that this same Sir John, when he would defend Colonel Dalrymple (his brother I believe) in the affair of his regiment, raised in Ireland, during the last war, seems nothing loth to give the people of it the praise of "being *confessedly* the handsomest men in Europe." And it is still more worthy of observation, that when another Scotchman, the learned and judicious author of *The Wealth of Nations*, would give a decisive proof of the nourishing quality of the potatoe, and of its being peculiarly suitable to the health of the human constitution, he instances those classes of men and women in London, mostly drawn from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who are generally fed with this root, as *the strongest men and handsomest women, perhaps, in the British dominions*.

Were this a place for either physical or metaphysical disquisitions, the dispassionate reader might easily be disposed to believe, that such a soil and
such

* Their character must have been bad, indeed, if it was worse than what this same writer has drawn of the Scotch Highlanders, in the following words: "What we call theft and rapine, they termed right and justice."

such a climate, as Ireland possesses, might well enough produce human creatures, at least on a par with those of worse climates and worse soils.* Now, as

* Solum cœlumque, cultus & ingenia hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. TACITUS.

Hibernia insula, inter Hispaniam & Britanniam sita—hæc propior Britannia, spatio terrarum augustior sed cœli solique temporie magis utilis; a Scotorum gentibus colitur. OROSIUS.

Hibernia salubritate ac serenitate aeris multum Britannia præstat, ita ut raro ibi nix plusquam triduana remaneat. BEDA.

Est enim, ut ait Cæsar, cœlum Britannicum Gallico temperatius:—Hibernicum autem solum amœnitate & cœlum temperamenti æquabilitate Britanniam superat. BUCHANNAN.

Hibernia par est Britannia vel ubertrate agri vel pecoris fecunditate; & quod ipsi Angli concedunt, tempore soli, cœli clementia, atque aeris serenitate nobilior. PAULUS JOVIUS.

Hibernia est fertilis fructibus & frugibus opulenta, quoad cœli situm temperata, nam parum aut nihil excedit in frigore vel calore. ISIDORE.

Et uno verbo dicam siue terræ fecunditatem, siue maris & portuum opportunitatem, siue incolas respicias, qui bellicosi sunt, ingeniosi, corporum lineamentis conspicui, mirifica carnis mollitie, & propter musculorum teneritatem agilitate incredibili, a multis dotibus ita felix est insula, ut non male dixerit Gyraldus, naturam hoc Zephyri regnum benigniori oculo respexisse. CAMDEN.

During the time of my service in Ireland, I have visited all the provinces of that kingdom, in sundry journeys and circuits. Wherein I have observed the good temperature of the air, the fruitfulness of the soyle, the &c. &c. and lastly, the bodies and minds of the people, endued with extraordinary abilities of nature. Sir. JOHN DAVIS.

Ireland is a kingdom, gifted with the choicest dowries of nature. LORD VERULAM.

If I may be allowed to make remarks of this nature, the piety and wisdom of the kings of England, has been more defective in no one thing, than in the due administration of this province, and of

as the outward form and persons of our people are universally celebrated, why should it be suspected that the lineaments of their minds are either faintly or rudely drawn? especially when so many political causes obtrude themselves, to account for an acknowledged inferiority to their neighbours in point of civilization.

I know, that animal and mental spirits are very different, yet there is, probably, a near relation between them; and certain it is, that all, originally, results from the structure of the organs. A fever or a blow on the skull is sufficient to erase every idea, and degrade the most sparkling wit, or finished scholar, into a downright idiot. But as all antecedent reasoning, in physical matters, is fallacious, let us advert to the fact; and are not the Irish, even in their rudest state, remarkable for a liveliness of humour and a sharpness of wit? And when they are well educated at home, or go abroad, what people receive sooner the highest polish?

The Romans called all the world barbarians but themselves; and so did the Greeks before them. Italy still preserves her reproachful term of Ultramontane. It is not so long since the French pronounced that “the genius of England was too cold, too hard for excellence in the fine arts.” Now Paris is embellished with the works of English artists.

Nay,

of all Ireland, either in respect of propagating religion, modelling the state, or civilizing the inhabitants. Whether this neglect is to be imputed to a careless oversight, or a design of parsimony and unseasonable providence, I am not able to determine. But one would think, an island so great and so near us, where there is so much good soil and rich pasture, so many woods, so much good metal for digging up; so many fine rivers and commodious harbours on all sides, convenient for navigation into the richest parts of the world, upon which account great imports might be probably expected; and lastly, the people both in respect of minds and bodies, capable of all the employments of peace and war, should of right, challenge and deserve our care for the future.

CAMDEN'S LIFE OF ELIZABETH.

Nay, we every day see the bleak regions of North Britain sending forth her colonies of genius, to overthrow the fanciful systems of those climate theorists who will not combine moral and political with physical causes, in estimating the *momentum* of national genius. But philosophy is a tender plant, and of slow growth in any country.

Whoever would form a just estimate of national character, should divest himself of national prejudices, which must be called *vulgar*, though attached to the most exalted, whether in the fashionable or learned world. No man, be his accomplishments or his virtues, in other respects, what they may, can be violently national, without being criminal.

Ireland stands not in any known class of things; she makes a predicament herself: distinguished, of late, only by her disabilities, we see her people slothful, naked and beggarly. Too indolent for patient enquiry, too fastidious to distrust our own sagacity, or too national for fair investigation, we at once conclude, that the first of these is the cause of the other two effects; not considering, that slothfulness is most seen among those who are cloathed in purple and fine linen, and who fare sumptuously every day. If slothfulness then be *a cause*, it cannot be called *the cause*, of the nakedness and beggary of the Irish. And, I trust, it will not be imputed to me, as an affectation of either philosophy, or singularity, if I should deny it to be *a cause*, properly so called. I consider it to be as much an *effect*, as that nakedness and beggary, which is the object of every eye, and the theme of every tongue. I argue thus—

No human creature originally loves labour: No savage undertakes it, but in fishing and hunting: All barbarians dislike it, though they are sometimes obliged to work, by the urgent demands of the day. Industry is the most infallible symptom of the advancement of any society, towards civility and refinement. Yet, what man, what society, ever loved labour

labour for its own sake? Don't we see, that, in civilized states, men who have acquired a competence, by their bodily labour, cease to work themselves, and employ others? Labour is attended with toil, and toil is pain; which no individual will voluntarily endure, without an expectation of bettering his future condition by it. No nation ever yet became industrious, till the prospect of reward had sweetened the exercise of the spade, the hammer, or the hatchet. The feelings of present ill, for such is toil, must be overbalanced by the hope of future good, else no man will work. The waste of body must not only be repaired by ordinary refreshment, but the mind must be invigorated by the persuasion, that it shall reap in joy, what it sows in sorrow: It must feel a comfort in something, more than mere animal existence, before it will think of providing against the calamities of seasons, the infirmities of age, or the pressures of sickness. Whatever is habitual, must be acquired: now industry is an habit, and must be learned like a trade. National industry is the result of the general practice of agriculture, manufactures and commerce. These encouraged, enforce industry; but discouraged, sloth. Arts are progressive; they mark the degrees of advancement in civilization. But, we might as reasonably expect to find a people industrious without adequate incentives, as to find a nation originally stone-masons, white-smiths, or woollen-weavers.

If Tacitus, whose insight into human nature was so deep, had lived to our times, his just remark on German manners, would not have been worded as follows: "*Mira diversitate naturæ, cum üdem homines sic ament inertiam, & oderint quietem.*" If he had lived, I say, in these days, he would not have used the word *mira*; for he would not have been surprized, that the same people, should, at the same time, hate both labour and quietness, or (to come nearer my author) that, *they should love sloth, yet hate*

to be at rest. History (i. e. recorded experience) would have convinced him, that this apparent diversity was not peculiar to the Germans, but that it was the universal character of all rude nations. The Germans were then but in their pastoral state, they have since passed, through all the stages of advancement, to civilized life. Their active powers have, by that progression, acquired a different direction; their hatred of rest, is turned towards a love of labour, i. e. to industry. In like manner, candour should conclude, that the slothfulness of the Irish, at this day, is not a property of their physical, but of their political, state; and should be considered, not as the *cause* of their nakedness and beggary, but as a concomitant *effect* *.

If this be digression, let us return, without waiting to suppose that it can be longer insisted upon, that the climate of Ireland, (no part of which is as northerly as some parts of England) because, more soft and genial than perhaps any other in the same latitude, is the cause, the primary cause, of Irish sloth and Irish ignorance.

Well knowing how precarious are all arguments upon this subject, antecedent to facts, I have resorted to these; I have pointed out a succession of Irish scholars, who if they do not rival those of the Augustin age, or even of that we live in, they were at least upon a par with their cotemporaries. These examples, which should be regarded as so many facts, are, alone, a sufficient vindication of the insulted genius of Ireland, during the ages in which they existed; and the series shall be deduced to the twelfth century in this work. To go farther would be an unsatisfactory anticipation. Be it, however,
M observed,

* "It is but the other day (says Spencer), that England grew civil; and when almost every bush had a Robin Hood in it."

observed, that, as there is no reason for suspecting that our climate is grown worse since that time, or that the intellectual powers of our people are diminished, this argument, from fact, should induce at least a presumption, that we are to account for the inferiority imputed to Ireland, at this day, not from physical, but from moral causes. To display these *fairly* and *fully*, nothing short of the history of the times will be found requisite.

S E C T.

S E C T. IX.

IT may perhaps surprise those who have heard so much of the antiquity of Scotland, and who are acquainted with the many excellent writers, in almost every branch of literature she has of late produced, to be here told, that this now learned, and therefore respectable, nation, cannot produce any literary monument, in any line or species of composition that I have heard of, before the tenth, or rather the eleventh, century. But upon better information, and that I expect shortly from the learned Mr. Pinkerton, I shall change my opinion, with greater readiness than I formed it.

Now if this point be virtually admitted by Mr. Macpherson, at the very moment he is attempting to impose his own spurious compositions on the world for antiques, it will be going a good length to establish our opinion, at least in respect to history. And he does admit that “*John Fordun* was the first who collected those fragments of Scotch history, which had escaped the brutal policy of Edward I. * and reduced them into order. That destitute of annals in Scotland, he had recourse to Ireland, *which according to the vulgar errors of the times* M 2 “ was

* When Edward I. summoned the States of Scotland to appear before him at Norham (in England) to decide the claims of the different competitors for the Crown, his first step was to put in his own claim to the Sovereignty of Scotland,—when the States

“ was reckoned the first habitation of the Scots.
 “ He found, there, that the Irish bards had carried
 “ their pretensions to antiquity as high as any na-
 “ tion

States demurred in acknowledging his right, he gave them three weeks to examine their archives. Yet after the expiration of this space, fully sufficient for such a research, they, upon their next meeting, produced nothing to invalidate his claims. From whence it must be concluded, either that their literary documents were, at this period, extremely scarce, or that they were so overawed that they durst not produce them. And it was not till after this event took place that Edward carried away those archives, to which M. M. makes pretension. But that historic monuments, relating to Scotland, were very scanty both in Scotland and England is evident from the following consideration: The grand authority, which Edward resorted to in support of his claims, was *Marianus Scotus* an IRISH historian. And remarkable it is, that when Henry IV. renewed the claims of Edward, he appealed to the same historian; adding withal, that his authority was irrefragable, because he was a SCOTCHMAN. To invalidate which the States of Scotland replied, that *Marianus* was not an *Albanian-Scot*, but an *Irish Scot*, Ireland being the ancient Scotland. (See further on, when we come to the age in which *Marianus* flourished).

Monasteries were, in those times, the chief places where the literary monuments of all nations in Christendom were preserved: Now if the Scottish monasteries were then in possession of historic documents, must not many of these have escaped the most diligent search of Edward? Could he at one brush have swept away every annal from every monastery? This is more incredible than that such historic documents were not then in existence; especially, when we reflect upon the rude state in which the minds of the Scottish people must then have been, when they considered the *Li. gh-fail*, or fatal stone, as the Palladium of their nation.

*Ni fallat fatum Scoti quocumque locatum
 Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Or fate's deceived, and heaven's decrees are vain,
 Or where they find this stone, the Scots shall reign.

The traditional history of this stone of destiny, (which after the crown and regalia was, probably, the most precious monument which Edward carried with him), is alone sufficient to prove, that Ireland was then considered as the parental country of the Albanian Scots. For the Monarch of Ireland, (the ancient *Scotia*),

“tion in Europe. It was from them he took those
 “improbable fictions, which form the first part of
 “his history.”

Thus we see that Mr. Macpherson admits that Fordun is the oldest historian of Scotland, and that when he wrote, Ireland was considered as the parent country. But it may be said that Scotland might have had writers at this time, who escaped the diligence of Fordun; and Hector Boetius, who lived some centuries after *Fordun*, does say this in effect, for he quotes as his authorities Veremundus, who is said to have been Archdeacon of St. Andrew's about the time of William the Conqueror; John Campbel of the noble family of Argyle, who is said to have lived in the days of Edward I. and

Scotia), being then firmly established on his throne, thought he did his brother more effectual service by yielding to him this stone, for his inauguration as King of the Albanian Scots, than by sending an army of auxiliaries to his support. This superstitious opinion, that sovereignty attached itself to this stone, was so rooted among the Scots, that Edward, by plundering them of it, hoped, as it were, to break the spell, and thereby crush the spirit of the nation.

Whilst this traditional account portrays, in lively colours, the sentiments and opinions of that place and time, it clearly evinces, that few literary monuments could then exist, of which posterity need much regret the loss; for the compositions of a people, so immersed in ignorance and superstition, could scarce rise higher than a jejune and meagre annal, such as we find was produced in Ireland about the same period; and could serve no one purpose but to ascertain the date of some fact, now of little importance.

But (since this sheet went to the press and not before,) I am told, that it is now asserted, that the very box, in which Edward deposited the archives of Scotland, hath been discovered, and that the catalogue of the contents has been given to the public. When these contents are authenticated, they must prove a very interesting discovery to the amateurs of antiquity and to literati in general; because they may ascertain points which remain disputed, and thereby shed a light on the history of Scotland. For it can scarcely be believed, that the nation was so careless of the treaties and alliances it had made, as not to have preserved some records of them.

and Cornelius Hibernicus. But not a scrap of their works are now extant; and those learned prelates, Loyd and Stillingfleet, give it as their opinion, that no such writers ever did exist, and that their names were only used by Boetius to give an appearance of some authority to his book. At any rate, Veremundus was a Spaniard, and Cornelius, as his surname shews, was an Irishman. Yet Dempster claims him as an Albanian Scot, "it being customary," says he, in old times and to this day, to call those "born in the Highlands of Scotland Irishmen." Than which, by the by, he could have scarcely given a stronger proof that the British Scots originated from the Irish.

"Were we sure, says the author of the Scotch library, that *Turgot* wrote any thing of the general history of Scotland, he is to be referred to the twelfth century. But though *Bale* and *Pitts* (and after them *Vossius*) affirm that he wrote *de regibus Scotorum*, all their evidence centers in *Hector Boetius*." "Of better consideration, says the same writer, is the *Chronicon S. Crucis Edinburgensis*, which he shews to be but an epitome of *Bede* as far as he goes, with a continuance of Scotch affairs to the year 1234." "The chronicle of *Mailros*, says the same Nicholson, in his English library, though its title may seem to rank it among the records of Scotland, may justly challenge a place among our English histories, since it chiefly insists on the affairs of this nation. And, in his Scotch Library, he says, the first discovery of Scotch affairs, in it, is when those of *Malcolm Canmore* came to be treated of in the year 1056. Yet a good while after this (A. D. 1148) the monastery itself seems to have been in English hands."

Now the earliest of these productions are not dated higher than the eleventh century; whereas we have exhibited abundant specimens of Irish writers from

from the sixth century downward: which is at least four hundred years earlier than any thing of the kind has been yet produced, as indisputably belonging to Scotland. *

I say *indisputably*, for here, perhaps Ossian's poems will be trumped up as the production of the third century. But, by way of answer to this, let us, in the first place, recollect what their supposed translator has said relative to the Abbey of Hy, founded by an Irishman in the sixth century, viz. that "the
" Monks belonging to this Seminary were the on-
" ly persons within the territories of the Scots who
" could record events." Of course, these Poems must have been preserved, if preserved they were, from the third century to the sixth, by oral tradition. But these Poems, and pretty long ones they are, are said to have been composed by Highland bards; who could have little connection with the Monks of Hy. Let us then see what the state of these Highlands was then, and down to the eleventh century.

Mr. Cordiner, minister of Bamf, that ingenious antiquary of the North of Scotland, candidly owns, that nothing is known of Caithness, Sutherland, and the isles, but from Torfœus and other writers of Norway; to the crown of which they had been subject till the reign of Alexander III. His words are:
" Previous to the year eight hundred, nothing seems
" to be known of this country. But it is more
" remarkable, that so little satisfactory can be
" gleaned from its history since the year one thou-
" sand two hundred. Soon as the fight of Torfœus
" fails,

* "It were endless (says Nicholson in his Scotch library) to compute into how many Chronicles this of *Forduns* has been multiplied: for being in every monastery of the kingdom, under the anonymous title of *Scotochronicon*, it commonly borrowed a surname from the place to which it belonged. This practice raised the value of the Black Book of SCONE, the Black Book of PAISLEY and the *Liber Carthusianorum de PERTH*, &c. &c."

“ fails, we are presented with a great blank in the
 “ northern story. The court of Norway being no
 “ longer interested in its revolutions, after it be-
 “ came annexed to the crown of Scotland, the ap-
 “ pointment of the Historiographer in Flota would
 “ cease. Writing does not seem to have been
 “ practised, by any native of the North of Scotland,
 “ previous to that knowledge of letters, which ad-
 “ vanced along with Christianity. And the light of
 “ true religion had not dawned in Caithness in the
 “ tenth century.”

There is little room to suppose that the rest of the
 Highlands were in a much more cultivated state of
 manners. If there had been a single trait of civili-
 zation to be found upon them, it would not have
 escaped their partial panegyrist Dr. Macpherson.
 But his words are, “ The genius of every soil natu-
 “ rally transfuses itself into the souls and bodies of
 “ its inhabitants. Caledonia was peculiarly adapted
 “ to that kind of life which we call barbarous.—
 “ The old Caledonians were much addicted to rob-
 “ bery and plunder. Their posterity inherited the
 “ same vice through a long series of ages.—Romans,
 “ Saxons, Danes, Normans and English foes, made
 “ frequent attempts upon their liberty and country.
 “ When the Picts and Scots began to dispute for
 “ the empire of Albany, there was little room for
 “ the arts of peace, nor was it possible to cultivate
 “ them with any degree of success. After the Picts
 “ had been subdued, the numerous pirates of Scan-
 “ dinavia, for a course of three hundred years, dis-
 “ couraged the Scots from minding the business of
 “ agriculture or civil life. Upon the death of Alex-
 “ ander III. under whose reign the Norwegians
 “ obliged themselves, by a formal treaty, to abstain
 “ from all future hostilities against the dominions
 “ of Scotland, the kingdom became a scene of un-
 “ paralleled miseries. Two successive competitors
 “ for its crown, and the cruel ambition of two Eng-
 “ lish

“lish monarchs, every way formidable, converted it
“into a field of blood and desolation.”

From this plain account, falling from the pen of a Scotchman, who took it up in support of his kinsman's *Offian*, and the inverted history deduced from it, the reader must see the probability of what is above advanced, viz. that Scotland cannot at this day produce *any extant literary monument written before the tenth or eleventh century.*

Yet this is the country in which were not only said to be composed, but written, those new, old, epic pastorals *Fingal* and *Temora*, three hundred years before any person in the territories of the Scots could record events, as the avowed translator of them himself admits; and seven hundred years before the introduction of an alphabet into the north of Scotland, as Mr. Cordiner shews. This is the country whose inhabitants, according to Dion Cassius, “till no ground, but live on prey, go naked and
“without shoes.” This is the country, even North Britain, of whose natives Herodian (another writer of the third century,) says: “These barbarians
“are strangers to the use of clothes; but they
“adorn their necks and bellies with bits of iron,
“which they esteem as much a sign of wealth as
“other nations do gold.” This is the country, whose British Scots, in the fourth century, St. Jerom describes as Canibals, whom he saw, with his own eyes, eating the breasts of girls and the more brawny parts of boys, as their most delicious repasts. And yet this is the country, whose godlike heroes are, according to James M'Pherson, Esq; clad in complete steel and burnished armour: and whose ladies and gentlemen, as Lord Kaims phrases it, furnished such elegant manners and sentiments to the Poems of *Offian* *.

Should

* Yet, not a word of religion appears throughout; which is altogether repugnant to the conduct of the *Scalds* and other northern

Should a modern Sculptor execute a Statue, Vase, or Medallion, in the manner of an old master, and, after burying it in the rubbish of some old ruin, have it dug up, and then descant upon the excellence of the antique, this might do well enough as a joke against those gudgeons, your dilettanti connoisseurs, who estimate merit by years; but, however it might raise a suspicion of his being a cheat, it would not increase the merit of the Artist, because he might still be far outdone, both in the design and execution, by many of his brother Artists.

The case is precisely the same with Mr. M'Pherson. He brought forward his counterfeit Epicks, whose manifold defects and deformities were not so much pardoned for the beauties, thinly scattered, which they contain, as from the persuasion that they were the works of an ancient Artist. But, as mere poems, these spurious productions should have passed for harmless things, had not the author, in feigning a fable, forged also a history: a history subversive of what all ages had received both in Ireland and Scotland, respecting the higher antiquity of the former; and which was never so much as controverted by any writer of the latter before him, as has been already observed.

Considering this matter as a mere point of scholarship, let me ask where were these Epicks, when the diligence of Fordun, carried him into Ireland in the fourteenth century, then universally considered as the parent country, to pick up materials for his history? To which it must be answered, that they could only exist in the mouth of tradition; and that tradition alone could convey poems of such length, and of such refinement of sentiment, for such a length

thern poets: with whom mythology makes the burden of the song; as may be seen from such fragments as remain of them, and from the *Edda* altogether. So that it is hard to say, whether the omissions or commissions, the suppressions or interpolations, of our Highland bard, most decidedly reprobate his literary depravity.

length of time, is too ridiculous to suppose. But it does not appear that any such ballads, as we may suppose a rude people capable of composing, and with that historic tendency, which Mr. M'Pherson and his abettors assert, did exist in the fourteenth century. For if there had been any such, they could not have escaped the researches of Fordun, in both kingdoms. And even, upon the hypothesis that certain wild songs of barbarous bards could have been conveyed from father to son, for several generations, it does not appear that these could have been reduced to writing, as is asserted, till within a century. For the Erse never was a written language, till within that period. So that such manuscripts, as were said to be put into the hands of the bookseller in London, upon the publication of Fingal, are reprobated upon every principle of *reason*.

AUTHORITY confirms the dictates of reason. Dr. Johnson made the most diligent inquiry for the manuscripts which were first said to be in the Advocates' library, and afterwards in the Isle of Sky, written upon vellum and in a fair hand, bearing date 1403. But these reports proved to be the mere illusions of fiction *.

Far

* To usher this work into the world, with greater plausibility, an advertisement had been inserted in one of the Irish newspapers, (Faulkner's Journal) announcing that a translation of the IRISH FINGAL, would soon make its appearance, and requesting the public to suspend the purchase of the Scotch translation, *as being full of errors, &c.* And Mr. M. makes himself, and his reader, very merry in commenting upon the Irish blunder, of his own inditing; as if Irish sagacity alone, were competent to spy out errors in a work it had not yet seen.

And in the English prints an advertisement appeared signed by the bookseller, who knew nothing of the Gaelic, or any dialect of the Celtic, and only published what he was directed by Mr. M. to the following purpose: "That during six weeks after the first

Far be it from me to fling national reflections ; because they confound all personal distinctions, and must therefore be more or less unjust. If Scotland has produced a Lawder, she also gave a Douglas to detect

first publication of the poems (of Ossian) the original manuscript should lie at his shop, for the inspection of the curious.

T. BECKET."

But, upon inquiry, no such MS. was there to be found. It really shocks candour to reflect upon the various devices which have been used, to give a currency to this flimsy fabrication ; and, however they may reconcile their consciences to literary fraud, it must remain an indelible stain upon the heads or hearts of those who have either lent their names, or prostituted their talents, to abet and propagate such a flagrant imposture.

Mr. SHAW, author of the *Galic Dictionary and Grammar*, scandalized at the credulity, or rather nationality, of his countrymen, takes up the pen on this occasion, professedly, to shew Doctor Johnson, and the world, that there is *one* Scotchman who loves *truth* better than his country, and that he is a *moralist sturdy* enough to declare it, though it should mortify his Caledonian vanity. This acute and learned writer, detects a number of frauds which could not otherwise have come to my knowledge : I shall therefore extract a few of them, for the information of those who may not have seen his book.

1. He tells you, that about the year 1778, a collection intitled *The Caledonian Bards*, was made up and published at Edinburgh, by an ingenious *translator* Mr. Clarke—and that when he was charged with this proceeding as a disingenuous attempt to support the honour of his country, and to carry on the fraud of Ossian, he (Mr. Clarke), confessed to Mr. Shaw, *that it was entirely made up*.

2. He tells you that the collection of poems, translated from the *Galic* of Ullin, Ossian, Orran, &c. and published in the year 1780, by Mr. Smith, are nearly of the same texture. His words are : " This author has annexed to his *Dissertations* some poems, ascribed to new, and hitherto unknown, poets. He (Mr. Smith) confesses, that they are in some degree *altered* from what they were when he received them : And that, *he compared different editions, struck off several parts that were manifestly spurious, and brought together episodes that seemed to have relation to one another*." This (observes Mr. Shaw) is a most excellent pretext for giving a new poem from a few stanzas of original : and he takes further care to cover the imposture by advancing *that the current editions are much adulterated*.—Indeed Mr. Smith gives us not specimens of the
original

detect his impostures: and if she now shews a M'Pherson, she has also a Pinkerton, who is so sturdy a moralist, that he loves his country less than truth. This gentleman, who has sounded the utmost depths

original of the old poet, but those he made from his English original; the local phraseology and the forced strain of it, to any discerning reader, point out the imposition.—Names are quoted who have given the originals. Some of those I am acquainted with; and none of them (for nobody could be more diligent and inquisitive than I have been) could ever produce any thing but a few scattered fabulous stanzas, sometimes representing the heroes as men, at other times as giants; sometimes probable, and often marvellous; none of which can bear a translation. A fertile genius, however, might take up the names as the characters, and write a poem in English, which a Highlander, *who loved his country better than truth*, might make himself easily believe he had frequently heard before. In this manner hath been manufactured every translation, whether Mr. Clarke's, Mr. M'Phersons, or Mr. Smith's, that have hitherto appeared."

Thus far Mr. Shaw! but I should be glad to hear what he has to say, now that Mr. Smith has, A. D. 1787, actually published his *SEAN DANA*, i. e. what he calls the *antient poems* of Ossian, Orran, Ullin, &c. But he has already said tantamount to it, *that they are only translations from the English*.

3. But the most valuable part of Mr. Shaw's excellent work, is his refutation of those authorities, adduced by Dr. Blair, in vindication of the authenticity of Ossian: For he took a journey to the Highlands (in which, I think, he remained six months) for the sole purpose of conversing with those gentlemen, who lent their names to Dr. Blair; and, upon examination, they all, as far as he went, turned out incapable of ratifying any matter, for which their names were published. From whence he charitably concludes, that the learned and ingenious Doctor was imposed upon.—This conclusion might have been safely drawn from even such of them as Dr. Johnson had examined—whose sentiments on this occasion so provoked Mr. M'Pherson, that, destitute of all rational resources, he sent him such a message, as at once betrayed the imbecility of his cause, and the impotence of his own mind: for he might, as a gambler, have as plausibly offered him a bet upon the subject. But the Doctor's answer, to this ridiculous letter, should never be forgotten.

" Mr. JAMES M'PHERSON,

I received your foolish and impudent letter.—Any violence that shall be attempted upon me, I will do my best to repel; and
what

depths of the antiquities of his country, commiserates poor M'Pherson for his want of skill even in forgery; as he evidently, on many occasions, does not understand his own quotations, but even sometimes

what I cannot do for myself, the law shall do for me: for I will not be hindered from exposing what I think a cheat, by the menaces of a ruffian. What would you have me retract? I thought your work an imposture; I think so still; and for my opinion, I have given reasons which I here dare you to refute.—Your abilities, since your Homer, are not formidable; and what I hear of your morality, inclines me to credit rather what you shall prove, than what you shall say.

S. JOHNSON."

But if there could, at this day, remain any doubt respecting the forgery of Ossian in English, it must be done away by the publication of Dr. Young, F. T. C. D. in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 1788. This gentleman, like Mr. Shaw, made an excursion to the Highlands of Scotland, in 1784, and, like him too, well qualified for the inquiry, by his knowledge of the Celtic dialects, has not only arrived at the same conclusions, but he has produced certain Gaelic poems, respecting the race of the *Fians*, which, notwithstanding Mr. M'Pherson, and his coadjutors, called them *spurious Irish ballads*, prove to be the very originals out of which he compiled his Ossian, by retrenching, adding and altering as he judged proper.

Dr. Young's mind, during his whole course of inquiry, appears divested of prepossessions, and guided only by the love of truth. In his publication nothing is strained, nothing distorted, his facts are collected with philosophical calmness, and his deductions drawn with mathematical precision. He carefully compares the Gaelic poems, published by certain Scotch editors, with the originals, which he collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and with the still more uncorrupt originals in the M.S.S. room of the library of Dublin College; and as he goes along, detects the many corruptions, which have been made in the Scottish editions, in order to favour Mr. M'Pherson's Ossian, and that falsified history which he has endeavoured to found upon it; and not without some success, when we see him, *at this day*, followed by his countryman Dr. Henry, in his history of Britain.

For the many instances of depravation in the Scottish editions, we must refer to the work itself; contenting ourselves with a specimen, and *ex uno disce omnes*. In the combat of CON, son of DARGO,

sometimes adduces them to contradict his own inferences.

“ That writer, says Mr. Pinkerton, must certainly be an object of perpetual compassion, who has tried to overturn the history of Europe, upon the authority of a forgery known to every boy,

DARGO, and GAUL, son of MORNE the messenger of FIN, is made to say, “ *for what cause have you come into IRELAND?*” but in the Perth edition, it is changed into (*the Gaelic of*) “ *for what cause have you come into THIS COUNTRY.*”

Mr. M'Pherson in his dissertation before Temora, has asserted, that the Irish, “ call their own language *Gaelic Erinach*, i. e. *Caledonian Irish*, when, on the contrary, they call the dialect of North Britain, a *Gaelic*, or the *Caledonian tongue*, emphatically.” Which being so hardy an assertion, the author of the Philosophical Survey of Ireland, had, in the year 1776, put the question, “ To what purpose should a mark of distinction be added to the same language, though spoken by different nations? We use no addition to discriminate the language of England, from that now commonly spoken in Ireland. No! we call both *the English*. And when we talk of the Latin tongue being generally spoken, at such or such a period, in such or such a place, we do not say the Latin of France, Latin of Germany, or of, &c. but simply and emphatically, *the Latin*. An epithet, indeed, is necessary to distinguish the people of a Colony, from those of the mother-country; as to distinguish the descendants of the Saxons in England, we call them *Anglo-Saxons*. Accordingly we find that in *the Irish* or *Gaelic*, a Scotchman is called *Albanach-Gael*; i. e. a Scoto-Hibernian; but an Irishman is called emphatically *Gael*.” The first part of this argument is sufficiently clear from the reason of the thing; but, as the latter rests upon a fact, not there ascertained, it is happily produced by Dr. Young. He furnishes us with the title of the Irish Bible, printed in the Roman letter, in the year 1690; upon the face of which it appears, that the Gaels of Scotland, are called *Gaelach-Alban*. And, for the sake of those who have not the TRANSACTIONS at hand, I shall here set down the Doctor's translation of the title page, together with his remarks upon it:” *The New Testament, &c. which now, for the public good of the Gaels of Scotland, is carefully altered from the Irish letter to the neater Roman letter, which is more easily read, &c. by R. Kirke, in the year, 1690.*” “ On this title page (says the Doctor) we may observe, that the Irish letter, in the year 1690, was unknown, at least generally, in the Highlands; and that the Highlanders have the epithet *Alban* attributed to them, in direct contradiction to the assertion of Mr. M'Pherson.”

“ boy, and even that authority misquoted. Yet
 “ who can but laugh to see the ingenious father
 “ of Ossian building upon a literary fabrication?
 “ It is so natural?—*Lætus & Aug. in Sempron.*
 “ were fit foundations for his bauble.—The au-
 “ thor who could foist in the word *Angli*, in a
 “ quotation from so common a book as Pliny’s
 “ Natural History, may well be supposed to stick at
 “ nothing. This *Introduction* abounds with such
 “ vices, as have stained no other work since
 “ the world began. It might be pronounced the
 “ most false and dishonest book ever written, were
 “ it not only the most foolish and ignorant. He
 “ who in the broad day of authors in every body’s
 “ hands, could act thus, what must he have done
 “ in the midnight of his Celtic nonsense, where no
 “ eye could espy him?”

This charge is ably supported by Mr. Whitaker,
 who, in his history of Manchester, became such a
 dupe to Mr. Macpherson’s imposture, that he there
 defends some of its most flagrant breaches of
 costume. But, soon seeing his error, he, in a subse-
 quent work, pursues him through all his labyrinth
 of fiction, and with the most apt expressions and
 happy variety of phrase, he has marked his duplicity
 and incoherence. In one place, he says, “ that his
 “ account is one gross perversion of real history,
 “ obviously composed to give the Caledonians
 “ the honour of being the ancestors of the Irish.
 “ For this, history and reason are distorted. For
 “ this, Mr. Macpherson is at war with himself; and
 “ for this, even Ossian is contradicted.” In another
 place, he says, “ Mr. Macpherson goes on with a
 “ false association of ideas, from the beginning, to
 “ the close of his work, walking in one circle of
 “ errors, and plunging into absurdities and contra-
 “ dictions at every turn.” And in another, “ These
 “ are the parts of Mr. Macpherson’s great argu-
 “ ment, and every part asserts some fact that is
 “ not

“ not true, or deduces some reasoning, that is not
 “ just. His whole series of suppositions relative to
 “ the peopling of Ireland from Caledonia, is a
 “ chain of errors.” And in the second edition of
 his work, he advertises the reader, “ that Mr. Mac-
 “ pherson had released him from attention to the
 “ dispute betwixt them, BY INGENIOUSLY YIELD-
 “ ING UP THE WHOLE.”

In a literary history of Ireland it was necessary to give this matter a full discussion : and though civil history belongs not, properly, to the title of this work, and fables should be still farther removed from it, the digression, I am going to make, may in some degree atone for itself, if it shall evince, that the fables, respecting the hero of Ossian's poems, owe their birth to truth.

The conspicuous part, which Finn Mac Comhal acted in the third century, had filled every mouth with traditional tales of his greatness and power ; which ignorance, ever fond of the marvellous and gigantic, applied solely to the size and strength of his body ; and they swelled him up into such a phantom of fable, that, like Arthur of Britain, people began to suspect whether such a person ever existed. But by disrobing him of those fictitious habiliments with which the bards have invested him, though he may dwindle down to the common stature of a man, yet he will stand far above the standard of the times in the magnitude of his mind.

There are documents enow still remaining which are entitled to the most cool historic faith, respecting this celebrated character. For even supposing that letters had not been turned to historic purposes in pagan times, yet the traditions of the third and fourth centuries might well enough be committed to writing after the introduction of Christianity and learning by St. Patrick, in the beginning of the fifth : for neither Sir Isaac Newton nor right reason re-

fuse all credit to things said to be done, even so far back as two hundred years. But before we come to the particulars of Fin Mac Comhal, let us advert to what we have already established as historic facts.

We have shewn, from a concurrence both of foreign and domestic testimonies, that the Scythian tribes, from the Baltic and German seas, who, from the most early ages, exercised the trade of piracy, had possessed themselves of the sea-ports, and had built Dublin and other maritime towns; we have seen Keating admit that Cairbre Caitcan, who usurped the monarchy in the second century, was descended from the King of Denmark: and that this Cairbre was a Danan, or Attacot, who overturned the constitution, and almost extirpated the ancient Milesian nobility, is vouched by Mr. O'Connor. All which evinces, that these Northerns were in great force in Ireland, during the first, second and third centuries.

The current opinion is that delivered by Keating, who, forgetting what he himself had said about Cairbre, reports that the Danes and Norwegians, or, in general, the Ostmen, landed here for the first time, in the ninth century. But a little attention to the state of the nation will convince us how unreasonable it is to believe, that Turgesius and his crew should, in less than eighteen years after their first landing, make a conquest so absolute of Ireland, as is not to be paralleled in the history of any other country; a conquest so domineering, as gave this tyrant and his host an uncontrollable power over the lives, liberty and property of the men, nay, over the chastity of the women. If then it be contrary to all experience and probability, that such a tyrannous and degrading despotism could be established in eighteen years, we must recur to an earlier period, than the ninth or eighth centuries, for the first landing of these northern rovers.

But

But we are not here left to deductions from reason and experience alone. Here we have the clearest chain of facts respecting the family, connections and exploits of *Fin Mac Comhal* which can be expected. All the Irish writers agree that he espoused the daughter of *Cormac* the monarch, and that he became generalissimo of the *Fiona Erion*. They do not, however, assign any plausible reason for the existence of such a body of troops, or for their being commanded by this general. Keating only says, "it was not for his uncommon size or strength" that *Fin* was chosen general of them, but because "his father and grandfather enjoyed the same dignity before him." And, as if to throw a more lively air of ridicule over these invincible troops, which he sometimes styles a *standing army*, and sometimes a *militia*, he proceeds to give the absurd qualifications of the recruits. But, first, he takes care to censure Hector Boetius for having said that, Finn was a giant fifteen cubits high.

Leaving, however, these babblements, let us attend to the unclouded fact. In *Finn* we discover a great chieftain, descended from one of the Scythian nations, that had, in the first century, got footing in Ireland, and whose ancestors had, by force of arms, obtained a settlement in the realm. We see him united in marriage to the king's daughter, and endeavouring to form a coalition between the Irish and the invaders, and becoming a guarantee to the monarch, his father-in-law, that the kingdom should no farther be infested by foreign invasion, even from his own parental country; and to effectuate this purpose more completely, he is entrusted with the command of the united army.

In this station we see him gain signal advantages in war, and then arming the defenceless natives with the weapons of those he had slain in battle. Again we see him availing himself of his situation, and in time of peace discharging the part of a consummate politician;

politician; erecting those forts which are, to this day, styled Danish, and rearing beacons in them, that relief might be more easily had in the hour of danger.

When he took all these wary steps, we can have little doubt, that, under pretext of protecting the Irish, he meditated the thorough subjugation of the kingdom; which neither he nor his ancestors, had yet been able to compass. For he placed garrisons in those strong mounds, almost in every quarter; and what is remarkable, the names of his sons and adherents, whom he appointed governors of those garrisons, are still preserved.

He was probably frustrated in these his projects of ambition, by those contentions which arose among the settlers themselves; for as they were of different tribes, originally, it was difficult to unite them in the same views; and even if they had been of the same blood, their barbarism would shut their eyes against any idea of common interest; which is not always seen by more civilized nations. However, these northerns, now settled in Ireland, were actually split into two factions; the one called the *Clan-na-Morne*, and the other the *Clan-na-Boiskine*. The latter was so called from Boiskine, one of the ancestors of *Finn*; the other from *Morne*, in whose time the faction commenced*. This is confirmed by the

* The genealogy of *Finn* is still preserved. He was lineally descended from Frotho IV. by his son David, who settled in Ireland; and he was the seventh in succession, of Irish birth, according to the following order, Daire, Boiskine, Caghmore, Farrelagh, Trenmore, Comhal, *Finn*. Frotho flourished towards the middle of the first century, and by allowing 30 years a piece to these seven generations, according to Sir Isaac Newton's system, the chronology of our hero is pretty well settled at the close of the third century.

Being authorised to say that *Finn* was descended from that country since called, Denmark, we may well suppose that the other faction was either Norwegian by blood, or by birth, or both.

the publication of Dr. Young in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy 1787, which fell into my hands since the foregoing was first printed.

In one of the poems collected by him which begins thus:—*The tale of Con, son of Dargo, who, filled*
“ with heavy wrath, went to revenge his innocent
“ father on the chiefs of Ireland: Finn addresses the chieftain of the opposite faction in the following conciliating terms: “ O! Gaul, son of Mornè, of
 “ great deeds and excellent understanding, who art
 “ accustomed to give reason for reason, in all
 “ discourse, I pray you bring us, boldly, the head
 “ of that champion, who thus insults you and the
 “ nobles of the Fianns, as you formerly brought us
 “ the head of his father.” To which Gaul is made to answer: “ I will obey you in this, O! Finn of
 “ soothing words; let us leave our enmity and hatred
 “ behind us, and re-unite in friendship. Skilful art
 “ thou in healing the wounds of the hostile mind.
 “ I and my warriors of strength shall serve you,
 “ O! noble Prince of the Fians.”

Thus evident it is that a faction subsisted between the *clan* of *Morne* and the *clan* of *Boiskene* to which Finn belonged; and Finn having, as we have just observed, undertaken the defence of the kingdom even against his own countrymen, he now wisely enters into alliance with the chieftain of the *Morne* faction, and prevails with him to lay aside their private animosities, and unite against the new comers from Scandinavia. This Con, son of Dargo, who came from beyond sea, as his tale tells, must have been from some of the Scythian nations on the Baltic, who came to look for settlements in Ireland, as his father had done before him, and had fallen in the attempt.

If analogy be here applicable, we may easily conceive that this case was exactly similar to the many which will occur in the history of Ireland, after the
 first

first invasion from England. For we shall find that the new comers from England were more odious, if possible, to the old English settlers, than the Irish themselves; with whom, after a generation or two (and sometimes in the very first) they made matrimonial, and other alliances; and with them opposed the new comers from England, in getting further footing in the land. The faction, between the English by blood and the English by birth, grew into one of the most formidable in this realm; and they must know little of its history, who do not know that perpetual wars and factions subsisted between the descendants of the English settlers themselves. Who has not heard of the deadly feuds of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds? Such were those of the *Clan-na-Morne*, and the *Clan-na-Boiskene*, in more early times!

The *Clan-na-Boiskene* had now the ascendant, thro' the genius of Finn and his affinity to the monarch. And though his policy now laboured to compose these differences among his countrymen, it must be obvious, that the jarring interests of the different nations from the Baltic and other parts of Scythia, now settled in Ireland, was what suspended the complete conquest of this realm by them, till the beginning of the ninth century; when Turgesius came over with all the powers he could collect, and united the divided interests of the Danes and Norwegians, &c. he found in Ireland, into one great interest, the subjugation of the whole kingdom. Which, we shall see, he effected, and then established that tyranny to which we have alluded, and which is known to every body.

And now having collected a variety of circumstances relative to that great warrior, the son of Comhal, and the part which his Fiona Erion acted here, and having stripped them of all their romantic circumstances, which exposed both to ridicule,
we

we come to this plain conclusion, that in the first century and downwards, various tribes of the Scythian nations settled in Ireland, and that they and their posterity increased and multiplied gradually; and, partly by force of arms, and partly by alliances with the natives, obtained such a footing and such settlements in the island, that they at length raised themselves to the government of it, in the beginning of the ninth century.

That we have not ascribed too great a portion of historic certainty to an age and character, generally deemed fabulous, will be further evident from such records, as still remain of his son Oshin and his grandson Osker. Oshin, inheriting his father's ambition, and preserving his authority and influence, as head of the *Boiskine* faction, soon threw off the mask and came to an open rupture with *Cairbre Liffeachar*, his cousin-german, and son to the famous *Cormac Longbeard*. Instead of opposing the inroads of those foreign invaders of the kingdom, which his father had engaged to protect and defend, he invited them to come over and fight under his banners, in order to make a thorough conquest of the kingdom.

The Irish, whose internal discords rendered them an easy victim to every invader, are represented, upon this occasion, as sacrificing their private feuds and animosities to a sense of self-preservation, and boldly meeting their better-appointed enemy in the field of battle; where their superiority of numbers, and their lightness of foot, are said to have given them such advantages over their oppressors, as at least taught them that they were not invincible.

At length, after a variety of fortunes, they are recorded to have come to a pitched battle, in the days of Osker Mac Oshin, in the plains of Ardratho. Seven Irish Kings are said to have led their followers to the field. The king of Leinster was generalissimo

ralissimo of the Irish, as Osker was of the Normans. The battle lasted from the rising to the setting-sun; when the king of Leinster, pouring down with the horse, killed the Norwegian Prince, who had lately arrived with ten thousand auxiliaries. Whereupon the Ostmen fled, and the Irish had the killing of them, till horse and man were weary. This obstinate and bloody battle, fought in the fourth century, suspended the subjugation of the Irish, and repressed the insolence of their invaders. But, as we have seen, they continued in great force, and still possessed the maritime towns, and the whole trade of the kingdom.

Hanmer (from the book of Howth, I believe) puts a speech into the mouth of each general before the battle; which, though conceived in all the truth of nature, I dare not venture to set down, lest they might extend to an unpardonable length this retrospect of the heroic ages: by which I am sensible that every law of method is violated, and for which there can be no apology, if it fails to illustrate a subject of late so much agitated, that it is become curious and interesting. However, the same romantic spirit for enterprise and adventure, which animated the champions of our neighbouring nations, prevailed here also, in our legendary period.

We are told that *Angus* king of *Leinster* claimed tribute from *Marke* king of Cornwall, which had formerly been won by single combat, and that he sent *Morough*, brother to his Queen, to demand it. This *Morough* was one of the knights of king *Arthur's* round table, and so renowned was he, that the very blazoning of his arms, by a citizen of London, is still recorded. But to Cornwall he went, where the king refused to pay the tribute, and, of course, offered the combat; but from what law of chivalry (if chivalry it may be called) we know not, he declined the battle himself, and Sir *Tristram* was the

the man who undertook it for him. Both champions were sorely wounded. Morough soon recovered; whereas nothing could cure Sir Tristram, but a visit to that country where the venom of his adversary's spear had been confectioned.

To Ireland then he came, and to the court of Angus, where, no sooner were his wounds healed than he received others, which were incurable; for there he saw fair *Ifod*, the only daughter of the king. This knight was not more hardy in the field than he was polished at court. Unrivalled in other accomplishments, the melody of his harp was superior even to that of the Irish minstrels. Rapture followed, when he swept the strings. But whilst he charmed every ear, he touched the heart of fair *Ifod*. To her his music was the food of love; and whilst he imparted, he caught the subtle flame.

They at first deceived themselves: they supposed, that the pleasure they felt in each other's society arose merely from the concord of sweet sounds. But this inclination imperceptibly changed its object, it grew into mutual attachment, it was exalted into passion, at once the most refined and tender. They became unhappy when separated, and the harp was the constant pretext of their meetings. But those affections, which by words they durst not disclose, they could neither conceal from each other nor from the world. Their fondness for music was no longer a veil to disguise the cause of their frequent but chaste intercourse; their looks and attentions unavoidably revealed the harmony of their souls.

The discovery alarmed the resentment of her royal father. The princess was confined to her own apartments, and Sir Tristram was commanded at once to quit the court and all he held most dear. He lamented his humble fortune, he cursed the distinction of ranks, he departed in despair, and his anguish

anguish was augmented at the thoughts of what the princess must feel. When returned to Cornwall, he so commended the virtues of the lovely *Isod*, that the king soon sent an embassy, to the king of Leinster, to ask her in marriage. The success of which answered the ardour of his expectations. They were espoused in all the pomp and festivity of magnificence and joy.

The knight, who had fought the battles of the king, and had pointed out the partner of his bed, now became a welcome and a frequent visitor in the royal palace. But that flame, which could not be concealed and was not quenched, now rekindled with unabating violence. The queen of Cornwall gave the knight pledges of her esteem suited to the summit of his affection. The preference was too visible to escape notice: It was soon spied out by the watchful eyes of a tender husband. Distracted with jealousy, he flew to the chamber where Sir Tristram was regaling with his harp the charming and the charmed *Isod*, and, regardless of the sacred laws of hospitality, he stabbed to the heart the suspected author of his wrongs and of his shame. And thus, as the loves of Tristram and Isod began, so they ended, with the harp!

Unhappy ISOD flew to the grave of her unfortunate paramour; and there bewailing her sad fate in being thus bereaved of him, for whom alone she would wish to live, she relinquished that light of the sun, which to her served but as a sepulchral lamp, to shew nothing but sights of sorrow, now that her first and only love was removed to darkness. Though her memory be forgotten, her name is still preserved in a village near Dublin, where a chapel was built to her *manes*, by the disconsolate king her father, for holy churchmen to pray for-giveness, and chaunt eternal *requiem* to her departed soul.

Whatever

Whatever sympathy a heart of sensibility may feel for this sad catastrophe, of which there can be but little doubt, it cannot redeem the times from the imputation of *fabulous*. But the circumstance of an Irish prince claiming tribute of a Cornish king, may perhaps discover what that tribute was which the renowned Arthur, according to Hardinge, obtained of Geal-more, who had assisted the Picts in their invasions of Britain.

The Somner next ARTHUR went to Ireland,
With battaile fore forefoughten y conquered,
And of the king had homage of that land
To hold of him, so was he of him feared.

S E C T.

S E C T. X.

THE narrative of our ecclesiastical state, which has perhaps too long stood still, we now resume; not without hope, that what may have appeared discursive upon the fabulous ages, may tend to illustrate the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries; in which political and ecclesiastical affairs are so mixed, that it is found impossible to separate and disentangle them entirely from each other.

The state of the church is represented to have been in the most flourishing condition, before the Danish domination threw all things into disorder and confusion. In the eighth century, monasteries are said to have been so numerous, and universities so crowded, that we must make large deductions. Armagh alone is said to have contained seven thousand students; Lismore vied with Armagh; and others vied with Lismore. But a sad reverse, we are all told, took place under the infidel Danes and Norwegians, who spared neither church nor monastery, age nor sex, sacred nor civilized: houses and cities spoiled and plundered, palaces and holy temples rifled and pillaged; maids and wives dishonoured in the face of day, and priests butchered at their violated altars. All the venerable archives of antiquity perished, and the polished works of ages buried in the capacious tomb of barbarism.

Keating very gravely tells us that, about the beginning of the tenth century, the Danes, after having reduced Ireland to these horrible extremities, became
such

such a terror to the Welsh and Scotch, that Roger king of Wales, fled for refuge into Ireland; and that the reliques of St. Columb-cill, which had hitherto slept quietly in his own Abbey at Hy, were removed from thence, to preserve them from injury, and the sacrilegious hands of those impious plunderers; who broke open churches and shrines, and stripped the dead as well as the living.

But if Ireland was, at this time, so sorely afflicted, as he represents it to have been, how could it afford either the living Prince or the dead Saint a safer asylum than either Wales or Scotland? We must then make large allowances for the exaggerations and ignorance of those writers, whom he so injudiciously copies.

The truth of the matter seems to be, that the power of the Ostmen was, at no time, firmly established in the interior parts of the kingdom, except in Ulster, where Armagh appears to have been their head-quarters. The history of Munster is so detailed, as if it had heard of, but not felt, the ravages of the Danes and Norwegians.

But, from a cool comparison and investigation of facts, there is argument sufficient to persuade us, that, however hostile to the interests of christianity and literature the Ostmen are said to have been, the power of the clergy, at least in Munster, must have been prodigious, when they obtained such an ascendant, that several ecclesiastics had exalted themselves to the throne of that province, and one of them was so ambitious as to claim the Boiomean tribute from the King of Leinster, which was only due to the monarch.

These facts are noted, but not traced to their source. Now we find that, during this very period, the patrimony of St. Patrick had been settled both in Munster and Connaught: From whence, and other collateral circumstances, we presume, that it had been settled in the other provinces before. What
the

the quantity or quality of this patrimony was I am yet to learn, unless it might have been those *Ridges of St. Patrick* to which I have already alluded, and which I have conjectured to be the Tearmon or sanctuary lands, some of which to this day remain in the possession of the Bishops. But though we cannot ascertain, what, or how much, this patrimony was, the personal aggrandisement of the clergy leaves little room to doubt that it was very considerable.

In the ninth and following century the dominion of Munster appears chiefly in the hands of ecclesiastics. Feidlim, Archbishop of Munster, succeeded his father Crimthan in the throne of that province. And after a reign of twenty-seven years, during which he obtained many victories, he fell in battle. And of him it is said *optimus et sapiens anachorita Scotorum quievit*: "The most pious and sage anchorite of the Scots departed this life."

His exaltation is the less extraordinary, as he was son to a king. But in the same year with the death of Feidlim, the Abbot of Imly had interest sufficient to have himself elected King and Archbishop of Cashel. And during his reign, was born the famous CORMAC Macuillenan, who arrived at the same royal and episcopal dignities. And we shall find, after him, the warlike and factious Abbot of Iniscathy treading the same paths of spiritual and temporal greatness.

Cormac Macuillenan inherits a character far above the lot of common Sovereigns. During his reign, of seven years, it was said the kingdom enjoyed perfect tranquillity. The churches and other religious houses, which had been demolished by the sacrilegious Danes, were repaired. Learning revived, schools and colleges were erected, and the liberal arts flourished. Even nature smiled, the earth was cultivated and yielded plentiful crops. The flocks and cattle were so abundant, that neither shepherd nor herdsman was wanting. And, what is most extraordinary

ordinary of all, the contests and animosities between the native Princes of the land subsided, and gave way to such a firm union in the common cause, that the Ostmen were dispirited and ceased from hostilities. Fortune so favoured all his designs, that his enemies dreaded his power, and his subjects adored his virtues.

Such is the language of the bards and monks! For, himself a poet, he was at once the patron and the darling of the muses; an archbishop too, he was the favourite of the clergy. But were it worth while to analyze this idolized character, we should find it rise but little above the common level of the times: unless the efforts of stratagem and force be ranked among the virtues of a prince. His whole reign appears marked with unusual demands upon his neighbours. To pass over facts of lesser note, he lays claim to tribute from the king of Leinster, and, on refusal, levies a numerous army to enforce the payment. But, after sacrificing the flower of his troops, he falls a sacrifice to this ambitious project.

Keating is at great pains to detect Hanmer's error in asserting that Cormac was killed in an engagement with the Danes, as if it were not more glorious to fall in such a cause, than in endeavouring to exact an unjust tribute from a neighbouring prince, with whom in policy he should have coalesced, and suspended his demand for the present, even if he had a right.

The only way to justify Cormac's conduct upon this occasion, is by presuming that the king of Leinster sided with the Danes. However those contradictory accounts shew how little is known of those times. And, if the story of Cormac be involved in such obscurity, what estimate shall we form of the value of that original document the *Psalter of Cashel*? which is said to be the composition of CORMAC himself;

self; this old poet, this faithful historian, this pious bishop, this potent prince!

To these attributes, ascribed to him by Keating, another still more extraordinary, viz. that of prophecy, is added: he is made to foresee and foretell his own death. Yet this episcopal king, trusting more to the instigations of the abbot of Iniscathy, than to his own gift of prophecy, rushes upon certain destruction. But first he makes his will, which, being poetically inclined, he writes in verse; and among other bequests he leaves his CLOCK to the religious of *St. Shannon*: though it be well known that clocks were not invented for several centuries after.

If some zealous advocate for the refinement of the Irish nation, in the tenth century, will defend this anacronism, or rather breach of *costume*, by elaborately descanting upon the original Irish word translated CLOCK, and shall thus metamorphose the clock into an hour-glass, or any other time-keeper, I have no objection. I shall only remind him, that similar authority puts a telescope up to the eye of that Milesian, who first espied out Ireland, above 2000 years earlier.

It must, by this time, be pretty clear, from the authority of Keating himself, that the church of Ireland was not so oppressed by the Danes, as he, by his declamation, so repugnant to his facts, would persuade us. Let us now examine, whether they had such a destructive influence, upon learning and the arts, as they are represented. And here we are supported by the very highest of authorities. Archbishop Usher, after citing the Ulster annals, from the year 888, to 1107, so far as relates to the succession of professors of divinity at Armagh, he concludes with these words: “*Quæ idcirco commemoravimus, ut Armachanæ Academiæ, inter medias Norwagiensis tempestatis procellas emergentis; aliqua deprehendi possent vestigia.*” “Which I
“ have

“ have enumerated in order to trace the thriving
 “ state of the University of Armagh, during the se-
 “ verest tempests of the Norman devastation.” And
 now, being come to Armagh, we shall find the state
 of the Northern church, not much purer than that
 of the Southern. For though it does not appear
 that the Archbishops of Armagh exercised kingly
 power in Ulster, yet in 883 and 936, we find them
 called Princes of Armagh. And we have it from
 the indisputable authority of St. Bernard, that be-
 fore Cellach or Celsus, who was himself the grand-
 son of a Primate, and was, A. D. 1134, succeeded
 by Maurice, son of the predecessor of Celsus, in the
 Primacy, the See had passed by way of inheritance,
 to the chief of a Sept, or noble family, who had
 usurped the temporalities, and intruded themselves
 as Bishops for above 200 years.

But let us hear St. Bernard's own words. “ Mau-
 “ rice, son of Donald, a person of noble birth, for
 “ five years held possession of that church (Armagh)
 “ by secular power, not as a bishop but as a tyrant.
 “ For the ambition of some had introduced the
 “ diabolical custom of pretending a right to Sees
 “ from hereditary succession, not suffering any
 “ Bishops, but the descendants of their own family.
 “ Nor was this kind of execrable succession of short
 “ continuance; not fewer than fifteen generations
 “ (before Celsus, who was a married Bishop) had
 “ succeeded in that manner. And so far had that
 “ evil and adulterate generation confirmed this
 “ wicked course, that though Clerks of their
 “ blood might sometimes fail, yet Bishops never
 “ failed. Eight married men and without orders,
 “ though scholars, were predecessors to Celsus,
 “ from whence proceeded that general dissolu-
 “ tion of ecclesiastical discipline, that contempt
 “ of censure, and decay of religion, which, as we
 O “ have

“ have at large shewn, prevailed throughout
 “ Ireland *.”

Thus may we see that Bishopricks were in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and part of the twelfth century subject to the same, or similar, claims of inheritance with the monarchy, provincial kingdoms and subordinate chieftainries: That is to say, they were inheritances appropriated to certain families, not by hereditary succession, but by election; *detur digniori*. The first ostensible plea of merit was seniority, but power and influence always carried the election.

Subject to the same custom, or law of inheritance, were the inferior Dignities of the Church, as Archbishop Usher and Sir John Davis shew, particularly the Corbans and Erenacies: but the Carew collection throws some additional light upon this matter. And we trust that the scantiness of historic documents, respecting those early ages, will justify our applying to them, by anticipation, what there strictly relates to aftertimes.

Bishops lands were originally divided into *Mensales* and *Censuales*. When Ireland became subject to papal jurisdiction, which did not happen till the twelfth century, the Bishops were bound by an oath, which was termed *receptis apostolicis*, neither to let, nor alien, their mensal lands, as they were intended for supporting the hospitality of their table (as their name shews) and were generally situated near the cathedral.

The *Terræ censuales* were granted to tenants who paid a certain small rent and a fine at the coming in of a new Bishop or a new tenant. But they yielded, principally, certain entertainments to the Bishops called *Refectiōes*, which were of the nature of *cosherings*, once or twice a quarter, or oftner: if

if occasion of more frequent visitation offered. And indeed by these refectiōns did the Prelates chiefly maintain themselves and theirs; spending the most part of the year in this wandering kind of life among their tenants, and receiving from them meat and drink for an hundred and sometimes two hundred followers. And, if the Bishop did not make this progress or visit, he had a certain allowance, or valuable consideration, in lieu of these refectiōns.

By this kind of vagrant and uncertain life the tenants were not only impoverished, but this vast number of retainers, maintained thus easily, would take no part in the labours of husbandry or mechanics, and became not only unprofitable but noxious members of society.

The tenants of the church lands, who held immediately from the Bishop, were called *Termoneri* in general. Many of them were scholars, and some of them spoke Latin, but they were mostly laymen and married. There was a Termon in every parish, contiguous to the church, which the Termoner was obliged to keep in repair; the spiritual duties being performed by the Vicar*.

Among these *Termoneri*, in chief, we must distinguish the *Corbani* and *Erenaci*, who were invested with particular powers and pre-eminencies. The *Corbanus*, or Corbe, called also *Comorban* and translated *Converbius*, we sometimes find in the office of Coadjutor to the Bishop, and styled Chorepiscopus and Archipresbyter: Hence we are given to understand why so many Comorbans of St. Patrick became Primates. At other times we find the Corbe acting as head of an Abbey, Priory, or Collegiate Church: and then he is called *Piebanus*, as presiding over the plebeian, or gregarian, ecclesiasticks belonging to it.

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However,

* Carew Collection.

However, both these offices were not incompatible in the same person.

The *Erenacus* or Erenagh, was of an inferior order, and as the Corbe was called *Archi-Presbyter*, so he was called *Archi-Diaconus*; and his office appears very similar to that of those Arch-Deacons, who have retained their primeval jurisdictions. He was the principal official to the Bishop, and therefore called *oculus Episcopi*. For out of the *Termoneri*, at large, the Bishops chose their officials, seneschals and other ecclesiastical officers, for their spiritual courts; which in the first instance, and last resource, decided all suits and controversies among their tenants: Over whom no temporal court or judge had any power or jurisdiction whatever. Nay, church lands had the privilege of sanctuaries, within which no man was followed farther by the pursuer. And therefore they were called Termons, because there terminated the pursuit*.

The etymology of Corban and Erenagh having been less satisfactorily sought for in Latin, as well as Greek, Hebrew and Irish, it should be considered that some words are original. But be they radical or derived, we have resorted to purer authorities, to explain their meaning.

The Corbes were, in the Church of Ireland, what the Roydamna or Thanist was in the state. They were looked up to as inheritors of the See, who, during the old age or infirmities of the Bishops, discharged the episcopal functions: and though circumstances might occur to set them aside, they generally did succeed, before the 12th century, when the Church of Ireland became reconciled to the See of Rome. Personal talents must here, as every where else, have sometimes prevailed, and therefore we sometimes see the Erenach carry his election to the See, in preference to the Corbe, who might
either

* Carew Collection.

either be too young or too old, or otherwise insufficient. And, it might so happen, as doubtless it did, that both Corbe and Erenagh were obliged to yield their pretensions to some more potent interest.

The power of the incumbent bishop was very great in this affair. For though the son of the Corbe or Erenagh had, upon the demise of their fathers, a prescriptive title to succeed them, yet they could not take possession without new grants from the Bishop. And if the son, or next kinsman, did not come in due time and manner to claim his grant, the Bishop was empowered to convey the Corban or Erenacy to another of the same blood; and in want of such, or if the next of kin were found insufficient, from poverty or otherwise disqualified, to perform the duties of the place, then the Bishop had a right to grant the lands to another; of all which cases, says Carew, I have seen precedents.

It is well known that, in these ages, villanage or personal slavery prevailed all over Europe; but it is not so generally understood, that these Corbes, Erenaghs and Termoners, who were the chiefs of the *Liberi Ecclesiastici* of Ireland, had their *Villani Ecclesiastici*, or slaves, both male and female, belonging to the church lands, which they would sell and dispose of as their stock of cattle. In proof of this, Archbishop Usher cites two ancient books of Canons of a synod of Ireland, which set forth, that the legacy, belonging to the Bishop, out of the goods of a free Ecclesiastic, is proportioned or rated by the price of a wife or of a maid servant.

That these Corbeships, Erenacies and other ecclesiastical dignities remained, in some measure, hereditary, in certain families, long after the Popes of Rome took upon them to bestow Bishopricks in Ireland, we can have little doubt, from the circumstance which Sir John Davis relates of the Corban of Clones in the county of Monaghan. This Corbeship,
he

he tells us, M'Mahon, the Lord of that country, procured to be conferred on his eldest son, then but a boy, in the late rebellion during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The same judicious author, who was himself upon the spot, as the first judge of assize who ever entered the county of Fermanagh, after having told us that this county was never reduced to the crown till after her reign, informs us, that the lands of it, were of three kinds. 1. The church or Termon land. 2. The mensal land of M'Guire. 3. The lands of the Chroniclers, Rimers and Galloglasses. These things I set down, that, as manners and customs had, probably, undergone little or no change in those countries, from the period to which my narrative is deduced, they may serve as presumptive arguments, that such were the manners and customs over the whole kingdom, for some centuries before the dominion of Ireland was annexed to the Crown of England*.

When

* After having said so much of the Corbes and Erenaghs, it may not be amiss to add a word or two respecting the *Culdees*, an order of Friars formerly in Ireland. The first writer who mentions them under the name of *Colidei* is Giraldus Cambrensis. He speaks of a house of them at Bardsey in North Wales, and of another in an island in Tipperary. Archbishop Usher tells us that the Culdees formerly composed the Dean and Chapter of Armagh, and that they were afterwards degraded into Vicars coral. He also informs us that Culdees remained in the Collegiate Church of Clones even to his own time under a PRIOR.

Hector Boetius calls them *Cultores Dei*, and gives them an existence in Scotland far beyond the truth; and from thence the famous Baxter has argued that the original church government in Scotland was not Episcopal, but Presbyterian. However, Usher shews from the chronicle of Durham, that the Culdees of St. Andrew's claimed the right of electing the Bishop of that See in 1279, but that the Pope decided in favour of the Canons of that cathedral. And he gives it as his opinion that this order of Monks cannot be proved to have existed in any other part of Scotland. However, Mr. Macpherson, (who has elsewhere admitted that before the sixth century, when the monastery of Hy was founded

When therefore we find the Church of Ireland, both in the North and the South, in such a state as can only be equalled by the maladies of its civil polity:—When Keating tells us that, in the sixth century, one third of the property of the whole kingdom was possessed by the bards, and when the case of Fermanagh, by Sir John Davis, so strongly corroborates this representation in the sixteenth:—When in a Synod by St. Patrick, as cited by Archbishop Usher, we find it was necessary to frame the following canon, which from delicacy I leave in the obscurity of the original: “*Quicumque clericus, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris & nuditatem non tegat, & si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint, & uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnetur & ab ecclesia separetur* :”—When it is confessed that from the eighth century to the twelfth, this country was more or less infested by the incursions of the Ostmen; and when it is written, in every page of its history, that the body of the people were, at all times, in the most abject slavery to its petty tyrants, whose greatest luxury was mutual destruction:—When I say, we consider all these things, we feel ourselves at a loss for those topicks which have

founded by St. Columban (an Irishman, there was no body in Scotland capable of recording events) tells us, in his dissertation concerning the antiquity of Ossian's poems, “that it was with one of the *CULDEES* that Ossian (whom he places in the third century) is said to have disputed, in his extreme old age, concerning the Christian religion.”

The word Culdee is evidently derived from two Irish words signifying the *black Cowl*, or hood, which they wore. Yet Colonel Vallancey goes all the way to the East for the Etymon, and derives it from the *Coptic*, as he does *Easob*, or Bishop, from the same language; whilst, one, who had not travelled so far, would have found it nearer home in the corruption of *Episcopus*. And in his late *memoir*, published in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, he threatens us with not one fewer than six hundred more of the same stamp.

have rendered Declamation so wanton in praise of ancient times : And are sorry when we hear Charles O'Connor, Esq; say—" BUT THE IRRUPTION UNDER HENRY II. KING OF ENGLAND, PROVED THE UTTER RUIN OF THE NATION."

To repeat this sentiment is, indeed, sufficient to confute it ; especially after having seen what we have just seen : For, if English Government did not do all the good it might have done, in throwing the Irish constitution under a better genius, it certainly did not make it worse : if it refused the natives the benefit of the English law, it did not introduce the arbitrary, and therefore oppressive, law of the *Brehons* : And if the English law, was so often sued for, as a boon, by the Irish, this was, on their part, a virtual confession, that it was better than their own. What then but the fondest of prejudices could insinuate that the *irruption* (as it is called) of Henry II. proved the utter ruin of the Irish nation ?

Far be it from me either to justify or disguise the many wrong steps, which English councils have taken in the management of Ireland, from the day on which Henry II. departed from it, to the day on which Charles Duke of Rutland departed this life. As I would support no fabulous farrago of Irish antiquity, neither shall I defend any system of English impolicy. No! not one, from the barbarism of the statute of Kilkenny to the finesse of the Commercial propositions. I am fully sensible that denying to the natives the benefit of the English constitution, and throwing them out of the protection of that law, forced them to be what they were called, *Enemies* ; drove them into frequent rebellions, and thus detained them in barbarism : The refusing them education, both at home and abroad, kept them in mental darkness, rendered them ignorant bigots, and riveted their blind attachment to a foreign jurisdiction : The restraints imposed

imposed on their commerce, the prohibitions to export their manufactures, and the frequent embargoes laid even upon their natural commodities, have retarded their progress towards civilization, and cherished that idleness and sloth, which is not peculiar to the Irish, but which is inseparable from that backward state, in which they have been constrained to linger, so long and so reluctantly.

After admitting so much, and it is as much as candour can grant or prejudice should claim, it will by no means substantiate Mr. O'Connor's charge. For I must repeat it, if the connection between England and Ireland has not been productive of as many advantages, to either nation, as it might have been ; yet, persuaded I am that, no document can be produced in proof, that the condition of the Irish natives was one jot more happy before Henry II. than it has been since. All that we know of them, before that period, is, that the body of the people were the abject dependants of an uncertain set of barbarous chieftains ; who divided and subdivided the nation among themselves, and used their wretched followers as the determined tools of their beggarly yet bloody ambition.

That this is no exaggerated description, I appeal to the panegyrical representations of Mr. O'Connor himself. Speaking of the Danish invasion, he says, " Ireland was every day ripening for chastisement " by some foreign hand, but that of the Norman " divided its blows with other nations. The Scan- " dinavian nations of those ages had no scheme of " polity for bettering their own state. They were " an aggregate of heathen barbarians—and in every " country where they prevailed, they weakened the " civil establishment, and in Ireland absolutely " prevented reform." N. B. In this very paragraph he observes that these " Normans fortified " themselves within strong stone walls, works until " then unknown in Ireland." But to proceed
with

with his state of Ireland, for near three hundred years, immediately preceding the English invasion: “Hating and hated, betraying and betrayed, the confederacies of the Scandinavians with Irish factions were of short duration, and the Irish monarchs had generally the advantage over them in the field. The crazy state of the government was their best security. Those Monarchs, chosen by alternate succession out of two royal, or rival, families, could not assemble a sufficient *legislative* power; and every attempt to do it proved ineffectual. The *Roydamna* (i. e. appointed successor) was generally in opposition to the reigning Prince. Some factions were rebellious, because they were severely treated; others were turbulent, because they could not be chastised; and each occasionally joined with the common enemy to gratify the purposes of revenge or ambition. The constitution, languishing under internal obstructions, and struggling with itself as well as with exterior danger, could only barely hold out: It could not remedy itself. The patriotism of a few served only to prolong the disorder, and prevent that dissolution which, in some cases, is the most desirable event that can happen.”

If this representation be just (and doubtless it is not much amiss) English Government must have been bad, indeed, if it increased those evils; and PROVED, as Mr. O’Conor asserts, THE UTTER RUIN OF THE NATION. But here our Dissertator’s invective is as groundless, as his encomiums on the visionary *Ollam Fodla*, that Irish Doctor and renowned Legislator, of whom we have already said enough. Yet to this great genius I suppose we shall be referred for the golden æra of Irish beatitudes, continued through a long line of Milesian Monarchs, down to the almost total excision of the ancient nobility, in the *two cruel Attacotic wars*. For after this period,

soon

soon as an historical (or rather indeed fabulous) light begins to dawn upon the affairs of Ireland, we are presented with nothing but the rust of an iron age. So that when Mr. O'Connor says, that "Ireland received but few foreign improvements, and that the history of one age gives a tolerable picture of all the rest," I join issue with him; but wonder how he can in the same breath, assert that before Henry II. *she was ever free from foreign power.*

No wonder that Mr. O'Halloran sports the opinion, that in old times the agriculture of Ireland was superior to that of China at present, when our grave Dissertator hesitates not to assert, that, "To the industry of the inhabitants it must be owing, no doubt, that the ancients, who touched on this isle, preferred it for its fecundity, to Great Britain." Alas! Sir, and is it to the superior industry of the inhabitants, at this day, that Arthur Young, no incompetent judge of the matter, attributes it, that in general the soil of Ireland is richer than that of England? But we have seen the natural genius of our country sacrificed to the manes of Ollam-Fodla, and why not its natural fertility to the impressions of the ploughshare to be still met with in some waste and uncultivated places. A people whom I have so often seen draw their horses by the tail, in spite of statutes against the barbarous practice, should not thus vainly glory in their ancestors skill in agriculture.

The candour of a learned writer should have admitted, that England, which has been to all the world a school of philosophy, legislation and commerce, has abolished in Ireland many customs hostile to social improvement, and has introduced numberless arts of civil life, which were before unknown to it; and above all, that it has taught it to feel and to value those advantages. Mr. O'Connor owns, that
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the dissolution of the Irish constitution might have been the most desirable event, in the 12th century; but that Patriotism should have had the new modelling it.

If we had, to this day, continued under that *ideal* Pentarchy, of which Mr. O'Connor is such an encomiast, if we had still our provincial kings and subordinate toparchs, with their Roidamnas and Thanists, their Chroniclers, Rimers and Galloglasses, we should probably be, over the whole kingdom, in pretty much the same condition that Fermanagh was in the sixteenth century; when the chieftain of the country, being asked to admit a sheriff, answered the Lord Deputy, that he had no objection, provided he knew his *Erick*, or the fine that must be paid, if any of his people should murder him.

And will Mr. O'Connor say, that the introduction of English Government has been the utter ruin of Fermanagh? This question will not appear so *malapropos*, when it is remembered, that among the articles of 1646 concluded between the Duke of Ormond, commissioner for the King, and Lord Mountgarret, president of the supreme Council, is the following: "*That the acts, prohibiting ploughing by horse-tails and burning of oats in the straw,*"
"BE REPEALED."

It would be hard to conceive that a civil and political state so disordered should have a regular ecclesiastical government. Accordingly we find the fact to be; that, in the beginning of the twelfth century, there was neither unanimity nor uniformity in the church of Ireland; and that at that time it owned no subjection whatever to the see of Rome. If then its subsequent submissiveness to that spiritual sovereignty has proved a blessing, as full two millions of its people still think it continues to be, even for this they are to thank the English; for it was Henry II. who first brought the Irish nation to an
uniformity

uniformity of worship, and an exact conformity, in doctrine and discipline, with the church of Rome.

It is true, that attempts had been made by several of the Popes and their emissaries to reduce this country to obedience to the mother church, and no opportunities had been lost to bring about this desirable event. But no opportunity proved favourable before this memorable æra; no conjuncture was of sufficient importance to enable the triple crown to extend its dominion to this sequestered isle. This is evident from the very words of those Bulls of Pope Adrian and Alexander III. whereby the one grants and the other confirms the dominion of Ireland to the King of England. Adrian commends the purpose of Henry in entering into the island of Ireland, in order “to enlarge the borders of the church, “and to reduce the ignorant and rude people “to obedience unto law, and that the christian “faith may be planted and grow up.” The words of Alexander’s brevet are still more express, ratifying his predecessor’s grant, on condition, that the “bar- “barous people of Ireland may be reformed and “recovered from their filthy life and abominable “conversation, and that, as in name, so in life and “manners, they may be christians.”

Here then we see a perfect coincidence of sentiment between these two Popes, respecting the rudeness of the people and the disordered state of the Irish church, which might have appeared to them in a worse condition than it really deserved, because it refused to pay the Peter-pence. Accordingly this is the grand condition which both these Popes lay upon Henry (and remarkable it is, that in one of the bulls it is no less than twice repeated) “That the “yearly pension of one penny, out of each house, “shall be truly answered to St. Peter and to the “church of Rome.”

Having

Having now given a summary view of the church of Ireland, so long as it continued independent of any foreign jurisdiction, it is full time that we resume our literary anecdotes, which we have only brought down to the ninth age inclusive. This however, will be soon dispatched; for it cannot be expected that the tenth century, which is emphatically stiled the *dark* age, or even the two succeeding ones, which were but little more enlightened, should abound with learned men in any part of christendom. Yet remarkable it is, that the first history, which Ireland can at this day boast of, was written in the beginning of the tenth century.

To Cormac Macullenan, king and archbishop of Cashel, in the year 901, we are indebted for the *Psalter of Cashel*, which is the prime source of information respecting the most ancient history of Ireland. It was called Psalter, it is said, because written in verse. But as long as fact is conveyed in verse entire credit is not due to it, because the genius of poetry has such a tendency to fiction. We have already adverted to the obscurity in which the history of Cormac himself is involved. Yet Usher speaks of the Psalter of Cashel with great respect, and we find it to be one of the great authorities which Ware cites, in his history of the Bishops; and he informs us, that the Psalter Narran, which he had in his possession, was little more than a collection of extracts from it.

The book of Howth, comes next to the Psalter of Cashel in reputation, and from the extracts from it which I have here and there seen, it seems to have been the most faithful record of the traditions of heathen times. The eleventh century gave a beginning to the annals of Tigernach, a work of high authority; and not unlike the annals of Ennisfallen and of Ulster, on which we have touched lightly in our second Section. But the great ornament of this
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age was *Marianus Scotus*. “*Anno 1028 Marianus Chronographus Hibernensis Scotus natus est qui Chronicon Chronicorum composuit.*” So says Usher from a chronicle in the Cotton library: and that he was an Irishman, says he, is proved from the writings of a monk, in the reign of King Stephen, who compiled a *Collectanea rerum Anglicarum* from the works of Florence of Worcester, of Asser and the Saxon annals, digested and commixed with the chronicle of Marianus. That this work has been always held in the highest repute may be seen from what Usher subjoins to his account of it, respecting the intention of *Vossius* to give a correct edition of it. “*Mariani Chronicon integritati suæ restitutum a clarissimo viro Gerardo Johanne Vossio propediem expectamus.*”

But there is still a more irresistible argument, for the value of this work, from the stress that was laid upon it by Edward I. as an authority to support his claim, to the sovereignty of Scotland; for Marianus is oftner appealed to, than William of Malmshbury, Roger Hoveden, Henry of Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, &c. put together. And when Henry IV. renewed the claims of Edward, he appears to have rested the proof of his right, upon the testimony of this writer, whom he alledged to be a *Caledonian Scot*, which the Scotch Commissioners as firmly denied, by asserting that he was an *Irish Scot*. The circumstances of this dispute are preserved by our learned Primate: “*In tractatu inter Commissarios Henrici IV. Anglorum, & Roberti III. Scotorum regis, anno 1401 die Martis 18 Mensis Octobris habito, cum Alanus Newerk clericus, ex chronicis confirmans, quod reges Scotiæ homagium ligium solebant facere Regibus Anglis, subjungendo dixisset; quod de his omnibus fuerunt & sunt nonnullæ Chronicæ in nonnullis monasteriis Angliæ repertæ, & remanentes fideliter conservatæ, etiam scriptæ per quendam Scotum,*
nomine

nomine Marianum : pro jure regis Scotiae respondens Johannes de Merton, Decretorum Doctor, ibidem dixit expresse & fatebatur, quod ille MARIANUS fuit, tempore quo vixit, fidelissimus homo ; sed subjunxit, quod fuit Scotus de Hibernia & non natus in eorum Scotia."

And here, by putting things of a sort together, to close our account of those Irish writers, who have reflected honour on their country, *si qua est ea gloria*, during that legendary period to which these strictures were limited, let it not be forgotten, that in the twelfth century flourished Maurice Regan, secretary to Dermot king of Leinster, who has faithfully and circumstantially related the exploits of the first English adventurers in this kingdom.

S E C T. XI.

IF it be enquired whence originated that right of bestowing the kingdom of Ireland, which the pope assumed, and the king of England acknowledged, we answer that, beside that general title from *Pasce oves*, which he interpreted *Rege mundum*, he claimed a particular one from that concession of the Irish, upon their conversion to Christianity, which I have already shewn to be altogether without foundation. Nor did he stop here; for he arrogated another title, from the donation of Constantine the Great, whereby he granted to the Holy See, the sovereignty of all the isles in the ocean.

But the obvious absurdity of this donation, is a sufficient refutation of it, particularly with regard to Ireland; for Constantine could not give what he never had, and no Roman emperor ever possessed any dominion in this island. And however Constantine might have wished to favour the Bishops of Rome, and the Christians there in general, (as a new interest in opposition to the old, by which he was hated, for having removed the seat of Empire), yet we cannot believe that he granted any sovereignty whatever, whether temporal or spiritual, to the Bishop of that city; for he not only retained the title, but power, of sovereign Pontiff to himself, seeing that he convened the Council of Nice by his own authority,

Athanasius called Milan the metropolis of Italy, and Rome the metropolis of Romania: from whence

'tis plain, that, in his time, the pope had not extended his power beyond the limits of his own See. A complete separation between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction had not taken place till long after the first Christian emperor. We have already shewn, that pope Gregory disclaimed the title of *universal* Bishop, even so late as the beginning of the seventh century.

Heathenism maintained a strong party among the Roman citizens, long after the first legalized establishment of Christianity; and in the country parts of Italy, it was so prevalent, that (from this circumstance), Heathens obtained the appellation of *Pagans*, or Villagers. When Alaric sacked Rome, his Goths, who were all Christians, scandalized at seeing the city so addicted to idolatry, every where demolished the statues of the Heathen Gods; and spared neither age nor sex, which took sanctuary in the Heathen Temples, but the Christian Churches were a safe assylum. Upon which, Alaric, to spare the effusion of blood, made proclamation, that all Christians should repair to their Churches, that they might thus be distinguished.

After this, the Popes began to hold up their heads. But still they remained, in civil affairs, subject to the civil powers, and were employed frequently, both by the Eastern emperors, and by the Gothic kings of Italy, as their ministers, and were sometimes executed for their mal-administration. But the state of parties in the West, of which they judiciously availed themselves, conducted them at length to the height of temporal greatness. For there being no prince, or person of eminence, left in Rome, the Romans naturally looked up to the most distinguished among themselves, and were at length forced, for protection, to pay greater respect to their bishop. Yet it was not till after the expulsion of the Goths, when the Lombards invaded Italy, that they began to affect that independence, which

which they at length obtained ; for they always remained subservient to the Gothic kings, as may be seen from the following circumstance : in the reign of Theodoric, a violent commotion happened at the election of a bishop, (N. B. The Popes had been originally elected by the Clergy and other Christians in Rome), one party electing one, and another another ; the arbitration of the right, was left to Theodoric, then resident at Ravenna, who declared in favour of which ever candidate was first chosen, by a majority of voices ; and this decision of the Gothic prince, restored tranquillity in Rome. And, in like manner, the ratification of his successors was deemed necessary in future elections. But the balance of power was continually changing.

The Gothic kings of Italy had made no change, whatever, in the names and forms of its government, any where. But upon the fall of their dynasty, and after Ravenna had become the seat of the Exarch, or Lord Lieutenant of the Eastern Emperor, the forms and names of Government were changed all over Italy. A Duke, instead of a Consular person, was set over each city, and the very name of Senate and Consuls, was abolished in Rome itself, over which a Duke was placed as in the other cities, and he was subordinate to the Exarch of Ravenna. This superiority of Ravenna, over Rome, exalted the ideas of its Bishops, and they began to dispute precedence with the Bishops of Rome. And, though it does not appear that this precedence had been formally allowed, certain it is, that the Bishops of Rome have been frequently suitors to the Bishops of Ravenna, for their good offices, both with the Exarch and the Emperor.

From the time of Constantine, however, the piety of wealthy Christians, had enriched the Roman See, with considerable donations, and in the sixth century, the patrimonies of St. Peter, (as they were called), became very extensive, not only in

Italy, but other countries. Yet the name of patrimony, did not import any sovereignty, or jurisdiction, of the Roman Patriarch, over them. On the contrary, the Bishops of Rome, as all other Prelates of the times, held their lands of the princes in whose state they lay; like other subjects, and liable to the same taxes and imposts. Some princes, indeed, had granted them an exemption in some places: Ex. gr. Constantius Pogonatus, granted an immunity from tribute, to the patrimony of St. Peter, lying in Sicily and Calabria, in the year 681; but this very case shews, that it was not general; for the Emperor Leo III. provoked at the contumacious contempt wherewith Pope Gregory II. treated his edict, against the worship of images, not only revoked the exemption granted by his predecessor, but (on his persevering obstinacy against the *Iconoclasts*, or Image-breakers), he seized on those very patrimonies, and ordered the revenues, arising from the sale of them, to be paid into the exchequer.

And observable it is, that, during this whole contest, respecting the idolatry of image-worship, the Popes always acknowledged themselves as the dutiful subjects of the Eastern Emperors, at the very time they were teaching the West, to regard them as heretics, and schismatics. But, that conduct was politically wise: for they still stood in need of the Emperor's power, to protect them against the Lombards; who, if they had become masters of Italy, would have deprived them of their patrimonies, and of that ascendancy they had acquired in Rome.

This event actually took place about the middle of the eighth century, when the king of Lombardy took Ravenna, the capital of the exarchate, from the Emperor, and by virtue of this conquest claimed the sovereignty of Rome, and drove out the Pope. In this distress his Holiness sought, in France, that protection from Pepin, which the schismatical Emperor might perhaps have refused, even if he had been able

to afford it. Such was their mutual animosity from their zeal for and against the worship of images! The juncture, however, turned to the advantage of the Roman pontiff. And Pepin, considered it as no less favourable to his own darling project of ambition; for, already possessed of the power, he longed to usurp the title of KING. He accordingly received the Pope with the most splendid marks of respect, and after being persuaded to declare war against the Lombard king, he was consecrated and anointed King of France by the Pope's own hands. Dignified also with the title of defender of the church, he marched with a great force into Italy, recovered the exarchate, and made a grant of it to Pope Stephen, now restored to the possession of Rome.

But the death of Pepin, which happened soon after, and a matrimonial alliance between his son Charles and the princess of Lombardy taking place, the Pope did not long remain master of Ravenna. Politics, however, taking a new turn in a course of years, and Leo, the then Pope, having been deposed by the nephews of his predecessor, was obliged to seek shelter in France, where he prevailed on the king to espouse his cause. Charlemagne did as his father had before done, he marched into Italy with a powerful army, and at once put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. But his services to the see of Rome were more effectual, for having completely reduced Ravenna, he gave Leo such a firm tenure of it that his successors have maintained possession from that day to this.

And thus was the Bishop of Rome first invested with the temporalities of a prince, and a sovereign jurisdiction over those temporalities; yet not as Lord paramount, but only as vassal to Charlemagne, to whom and his successors, the Pope and his successors were to do homage. In return for this munificent grant, the Pope placed the crown on the head of Charlemagne, whilst on his knees at mass in St. Peter's church, on Christmas-day in the year 800, and saluted

saluted him with the title of *Emperor* and *Augustus*. And in further acknowledgement of gratitude, he, as Emperor of the West, was declared protector of the holy see, and it was conceded to him that he and his successors should not only nominate all bishops, not yet consecrated, but that they should for ever appoint bishops to the see of Rome. But in proportion as the French lost ground in Italy, in the same did the Popes withdraw their allegiance, and assume to themselves all the imperial prerogatives of independent sovereignty; till at length they lorded it over the empire itself, and arrogated the right of making and unmaking kings, of bestowing sceptres and conferring crowns.

From this slight sketch it may be easily seen why the first Gregory disclaimed the title of universal Bishop, and would bear with an equal, though he could not brook a superior, as we have, above, observed. And by reviewing the progressive advancement of papal power compared with the gradual decline of knowledge, it may be seen that in the same proportion as the latter fell the former rose; till it arrived at its zenith, about the middle of the middle age; that midnight hour of intellectual darkness, when scarce a literary light appeared to cheer the gloom, which overspread all christendom. And then, as we may well suppose, was first made that claim to the sovereignty of the isles, which could only be granted by minds dark from ignorance, weak from credulity, and timid from superstition. However, upon this arrogant pretension, together with the other two to which I have alluded, did the Pope found his right of bestowing the kingdom of Ireland upon Henry II. in the twelfth century. Yet, if we may credit Keating, he might have added a fourth, still more specious.

We have adverted to this historian's censure of Sanders, for having asserted, that upon their conversion to christianity, the Irish submitted themselves to
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the temporal dominion of the Pope: "But," says he in another place, "it must be confessed, that about seventy-seven years before the English invasion, *Donogh* the son of Brian Boiromhe, undertook a journey to Rome, and had a commission, from the principal nobility and gentry of the Island, to offer themselves as subjects to the See of Rome, and implored the protection of the Roman Pontiff."

The reason assigned, by him, for this submission is, that "the contests of the petty Princes, about the bounds of their territories, had so harassed and impoverished the Island, that the inhabitants chose rather to submit themselves, to a foreign power, than to the oppressive tyranny of their own Kings." But careful to assert the independence of the Irish Church, in the glorious days of the Monarchy, he denies the fact, that the Emperor Constantine, upon his receiving the Christian faith, had conferred the sovereignty of the Islands upon Pope Sylvester, and alledges, that what induced the Irish, at this time, to offer their submission to the See of Rome, was, that the Roman Pontiff was not only a spiritual but a temporal Prince; whose great influence and authority in Christendom, they hoped, would be able to mediate for them abroad, and establish their liberties at home.

But be this as it may, a crown worn by an usurper, for such was the famous Brian Boiromhe, and surrendered by his son, a fugitive prince, stained with the blood of his own brother, could not have been considered by the court of Rome, as strengthening its claim to the dominion of the Isles, and accordingly neither of these bulls take any notice of this transaction. And solicitous though the court of Rome then was, to extend its usurpations, it could do nothing effectual in favour of this exiled prince. Ireland was then too much agitated by domestic faction to listen to the pretensions of a foreign

foreign jurisdiction. The Momonian prince had only left him to assume the habit of a religious, in St. Stephen's Abbey, and to spend the remainder of his days in penance and mortification.

The first occasion taken by the see of Rome, to acquire influence in Ireland, was about the year 1127, by granting the legatine commission to Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, who had written a book, to teach the manner of celebrating mass, according to the Roman ritual, wherein he condemned all other rituals as schismatical; but we do not find that he exercised any jurisdiction here by virtue of that character. It was not so with primate Malachy, who was the next instrument made use of by the Roman pontiff, by investing him with the same legatine dignity.

The anecdotes of this celebrated primate, which I have here and there picked up, will contribute not only to clear up this matter sufficiently, but also to throw strong light on the manners and customs of the twelfth century.

Malachy was well born, being descended from a noble family; and, educated under his father, Imar, abbot of Armagh, he was by him ordained priest, and sent to study at the abbey of Lismore, over which that Malchus, who afterwards became bishop of that see, then presided. At this time, Cormac, a petty prince, chased from his territory by his own brother, fled thither as an asylum, and there spent a religious life. A strict friendship grew up between him and Malachy, by whom he was instructed in the principles of religion. For which service Cormac afterwards found frequent occasions to shew his gratitude.

In the mean while, the character of Malachy became so celebrated, for learning and virtue, that he was invited by a prince of Uladh, (now the county of Down) to come and reform his people by his preaching, exhortations and example; forasmuch as
they

they lived on stealth, and committed all manner of wickedness. In return for the success which attended his zeal and assiduity in the pastoral care, which he took upon him, the munificence of the prince, whom he had so essentially served, enabled him to rebuild the abbey of Bangor, (which had been utterly destroyed by those northern pirates the Danes, Norwegians, &c. who had so long infested Ireland), of which he himself became the abbot. But the bishopric of Conner becoming soon after vacant, he was, at the age of thirty, unanimously elected to that see. In this situation he remained but a short time; for the king of Ulster, falling upon his patron, the Ulidian prince, besieged the city of Conner, and forced the bishop, with many of his clergy, to fly for refuge to his old friend Cormac; now reinstated in his dominions. Cormac received him with open arms, and endeavoured by every means, to soften the hardships of his condition. He detained him with him, and under his care founded a monastery.

At this time it was, that he visited Connaught, where (according to St. Bernard) “ he found the
“ people more barbarous than any he had ever
“ seen elsewhere, being Christians only in name,
“ but in reality Heathens, and beasts rather than
“ men.”

We have already cited this fainting biographer, in proof that upon the death of Celsus, primate of Armagh, Maurice had obtruded himself into that see; not as bishop, but as tyrant; as fifteen generations of his family before Celsus had done. But we did not observe, that Celsus, being a virtuous and a learned prelate, was scandalized that the primacy should continue to be the inheritance even of the family to which he belonged, and wished to have a worthy successor in this important station. He accordingly, upon his death bed, sent Malachy his crozier, and recommended it to his clergy to elect

elect him primate. Which they failed not to do, from the respect they bore to their metropolitan, as well as from the hopes they conceived of his successor.

But in spite of this election, Maurice stepped into the archiepiscopal dignity, and detained it for five years. Then, upon his death, one Nigell, according to the abbot of Clarevall, of the same family with Maurice, (but, according to all other writers, a stranger to the blood of those, who had for above two hundred years held the primacy as a lay-inheritance) took possession of it, and raised troops to maintain him in his usurpation. Upon this intrusion of Nigell, the injured Malachy had recourse, a second time, to his old friend king Cormac; who came with such powerful succours to his assistance, that he prevailed over Nigell and (as my author has it) quietly settled Malachy, the rightful bishop, in the see*.

But that Armagh could not be a seat of *quiet* to him, is from hence probable:—he soon after took a journey to Rome, where he asked permission of pope Innocent II. to resign his bishopric, that he might spend the remainder of his days in peace, at Clarevall, with St. Bernard; whom he had visited on his way. But the pope denied his suit, by representing to him the good which he might do in his station; and, to strengthen his hands more effectually, he dismissed him with the dignified commission of his legate in Ireland.

Being now returned with this addition of authority, he set about reforming those abuses which he thought disgraced his country and the church. Till the century in which he lived, the marriage of the secular clergy, had not been entirely disused in any part of Christendom: And though an attempt had been made to reprobate it, so early as the Council of

* Carew Collection.

of Nice, yet it was not held dishonourable in the Roman church, till Hildebrand, that tumour of ambition, who styled himself Gregory VII. had the effrontery to stigmatize it as concubinage, at the very time, that he himself was condemned, at the assembly of Worms, of much worse crimes than his intrigue with the countess Mathilda.

But he, who had power sufficient to bring the emperor on his knees before him, thundered his anathemas so effectually against it, that marriage soon became an unsurmountable bar to all preferments in the church. However, so difficult was it to introduce the unnatural habit of celibacy, that many of the lower orders of the seculars refused to put away their wives; and others, from conscience-sake, preferred matrimony, with all its temporal discouragements, to that concubinage which, if not tolerated, was connived at. The aggrandisement of the church, however, prevailed on the successors of Gregory to pursue his plan. And they also issued their decrees against this original law of nature.

Such was the general state of this matter, so far as papal influence reached, when Malachy undertook to abolish matrimony among the secular clergy of Ireland. Vignier, in his "*Histoire de L'Eglise*," tells us, that he was the first archbishop of Armagh who in obedience to the ordinance of pope Calixtus, renounced marriage himself, and that after becoming legate to the then pope, he was for constraining the priests to put away their wives, contrary to the usage which had been all along established. "Malachie Archevesque d'Armaghe en Irlande, obeissant aux ordonnances du Pape Calixte, fut le premier qui en son diocese renoncera au mariage, ayans este tous ses predecesseurs marries, tellement que ceste dignite Archiepiscopale estoit venu jusques a laey de pere en fils, par cinque generations.—Malachie legat du Pape en Irlande
"voulust

“ voulust constreindre les prestres de son diocese
 “ de laisser leur femmes, des quels ils auroient jus-
 “ ques a lors use en mariage, dont il excita des
 “ grands troubles a l’encontre de luy.”

This attempt raised such opposition to Malachy, that he was fain to make another visit to the sovereign pontiff. And having now surrendered the independence of his own see, to the supreme jurisdiction of the Roman hierarchy, he was received, by Innocent, with the most studied tokens of honour and respect. The pope took the mitre off his own head, and placed it on that of the Irish prelate: And to make his refusal of the pall, which Malachy requested, appear the less irksome, he persuaded him that it would come with a better grace, and more dignity, if conferred in Ireland; and after it had been solemnly sued for by a national council.

It seems, from the words of St. Bernard, viz. “ his business to Rome at this time, was about the
 “ rights of the primacy appertaining to Armagh,” that Malachy only thought of obtaining a pall for himself; which, as this his biographer expresses it, was the “ *only thing wanting to the plenitude of*
 “ *honour.*”

From the first establishment of Christianity in Ireland, it had been contented with two archbishoprics, Armagh and Cashel, neither of which, from any thing that has occurred, appears to have exercised, or claimed, any pre-eminence over the other. Yet St. Bernard asserts, that not only all the clergy, but the whole nobility, and even the kings of Ireland “ were in all obedience subjected to the successors
 “ of that prelate in the see of Armagh.” And the reason, he assigns, is the “ *veneration they had for*
 “ *St. Patrick:*” not considering that St. Patrick founded Cashel as well as Armagh.

However (not to dwell on a point of such little consequence at this day), when Malachy returned
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to his native country, he did not find it so easy, as he expected, to convince the Irish clergy, that the pall contained, what he and St. Bernard conceived to be, *the plenitude of honour*. Not being able to prevail upon them to meet in a national council, for this purpose, he took a third journey to the Continent, understanding that pope Eugenius, was then in France, to confer with him there, and to visit his dear friend at Clarevall. Where after a few days he was taken ill and died, (in November 1148), and was buried with great funeral pomp in the abbey; St. Bernard, preaching his funeral sermon: In which he says, that, “this good man, though born in Ireland, “where the people are barbarous, yet favoured “no more of barbarism, than the fishes do of the “saltness of the sea.” *

As Malachy had laboured so earnestly to bring the church of Ireland to a nearer conformity with that of Rome, and as he had, as far as in him lay, sacrificed its independence at the throne of the sovereign Pontiff, it is no wonder that we find him hold so high a place, in the Roman calendar, as a canonized Saint. And upon an impartial estimate of his merits, as a merely moral and religious character, we shall find few, upon the catalogue, more deserving

* In S. Malachiam Hiberniæ Primatem, & sedis Apostolicæ Legatum.

Petreidis vates sedis Romanæ Sybilla
Præfagit seriem, Pontificumque notas.
Dum monumenta colit tellus, dum præfule gaudet
Roma, Malachiæ fama perire nequit.
Cuncta referre volens miracula, recenscat omnes
Vitæ actus, vita hæc quid nisi signa fuit?

Thomas Guyer Sacerdos Hibernus.

deserving a distinguished rank. His lot was fallen upon most unhappy times, and considering the rude state of his country, and the very corrupt practices of its church, it may be questioned whether the celibacy of the clergy might not then have deserved the name of *a Reformation*.

Before we take a final leave of our departed Saint, it must be remembered that he was the first who built a church of lime and stone in the interior parts of the kingdom, as his faithful biographer of Clairevall testifies. That the Ostmen might have built such edifices in their maritime towns during their domination here is more than probable, because they were in possession of the art of stone-masonry. And we find that they had been for near a century, converted to christianity. So far back as the year 1074 we find the Bishop-elect of Dublin, *a Dane*, solemnly promising, for himself and successors, canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the successors of that prelate, by whom at the desire of the clergy and people of Dublin he was consecrated in London.

Thus we may observe, that the Ostmen were not as tenacious, as the other Irish, of the liberty of their church. Upon which Lord Lyttelton says, that “it is hard to say upon what this subjection “ was founded: for the city of Dublin was not then “ subject to England.” But two considerations seem here to have escaped the reflection of this accurate writer. The first is, that the city of Dublin had been subject to England towards the close of the tenth century, as the charter of Edgar asserts. I know that some writers have treated this charter as a swaggering gasconade; but that it was not altogether so, is evident from the coins, both of himself and of his son Ethelred, struck in Dublin, probably as tribute money, one of which I have seen in Dr. Hunter’s collection, and others of them are noted by Simon, Harris, and Leland. How long this sub-
jection

jection of Dublin to England did exist, is now hard to say; but that it did exist, at the period I have assigned, can scarcely be doubted; and this subjection, of the city to the crown of England, might have introduced the subjection of the Bishop of Dublin to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

But waving the idea of Edgar's conquest of Dublin, there is another reflection that does not seem to have occurred to the noble historian; which gives an easy solution, why the churches of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, &c. had thrown themselves under subjection to the metropolitan of all England. They were all from the beginning Danish cities, and so was London at that time in a great measure. England had been long under the dominion of the Danes, and of course some of the great Ecclesiastics would be Danish. It was, therefore, natural for the Danish Bishops of Ireland to acknowledge their ecclesiastical dependence upon their own countrymen, rather than upon the Irish, with whom they were generally at variance.

Be this however as it may, it is, on all hands, agreed, that the little oratory built by Malachy at Bangor was the first stone and lime edifice, *of that kind*, raised by the Irish. To whom it appeared such a novelty, that the natives upbraided his pride and derided his folly for undertaking a work, so much beyond his ability: *Unde tibi pauperi sumptus ad perficiendum?* And as this was the first church, so the palace built by Roderic O'Connor the last Irish Monarch, at Tuam, was the first dwelling-house, erected by the same people, and in the same manner: which so astonished the beholders, that they called it *The wonderful Castle*.

“The buildings of the ancient Scots,” says Mr. O'Connor (wrapt into an elevated strain of panegyric by his *amor patriæ*) “were for use solely, not for ostentation. They did not conceive that real magnificence consisted in rearing great heaps of stone
“ artfully

“ artfully disposed and closely cemented, or that
 “ real grandeur received any dimunition from the
 “ humility of its habitation. They brought dignity
 “ to the place, they sought none from it. In every
 “ district, the occupiers lived apart ; near enough
 “ to assist, not too near to incommode each other.
 “ In a country where the inhabitants have but few
 “ mechanical arts, where they draw most of their
 “ necessaries from the soil they cultivate, and where
 “ precious metals are not made signs equivalent to
 “ national wealth, there can be few cities. And
 “ though this is certainly true of all Ireland, yet
 “ civility was preserved through the frequent custom
 “ of bringing the people together on one spot in
 “ their camps, their *Ainachs* and particularly in their
 “ assemblies at Teamor, Taltion, Flachta, Emania,
 “ Crughain, &c. These were *temporary cities*, where
 “ all national affairs relating to war and politics,
 “ property and commerce, were adjusted ; and this
 “ custom kept the people from falling into barbarism.”

After discovering these obvious features of the infancy of the arts, among his learned and polished Milesians, which not all the flowers of declamation, or art of *Dissertation*, can disguise, let us contrast this consistent writer with himself. “ What St. Bernard has said, and truly said, on this subject, characterises the *time and place* of which he wrote, but does not conclude of former times of less confusion and barbarism.”

But when were the times of less confusion and barbarism ? Has not he himself admitted that “ the history of one age gives a tolerable picture of all the rest as to manners and customs ? ” Does he not complain that “ the alternate succession between the two great houses, the Hy-Nial and Clan-Colman, was one source of perpetual discord ; and that the elections to the dignity of magistrature, whether royal or dynastal, was another ? ” “ In such a country,” says he, “ durable or superb structures
 “ could

“ could not well take place. As the possession was
 “ temporary, so was the building. And so far did in-
 “ veterate custom prevail among this people, that
 “ even after the reception of Christianity, they could
 “ not be prevailed upon to build their churches or
 “ monasteries of more durable materials, than their
 “ own habitations. The Irish had no cities or large
 “ towns in the early ages. Each clan sat down in
 “ its hereditary canton. In their wars with the
 “ English, they were at last obliged to avail them-
 “ selves of the arts of their enemies, by erecting
 “ castles and other strong holds. This gave rise
 “ to stone buildings in Leinster, Munster and
 “ Connaught, and soon after in Ulster. The
 “ Bards inveighed strongly against this innova-
 “ tion.”

It is pleasant to hear our Dissertator argue for
 the civilization of this country, at a time when, he
 confesses, there was neither city nor great town in
 it. Yet sensible that all civility, as the very name
 imports, has originated in cities, he gives us to un-
 derstand that they had *temporary cities*. What those
 were, we have already seen.

Yet in another place, he points to a very different
 source of civilization : “ The monks, says he, fixed
 “ their habitations in desarts which they cultivated
 “ with their own hands, and rendered the most de-
 “ lightful spots in the kingdom. The desarts be-
 “ came well-policed cities; and it is remarkable
 “ enough, that to the MONKS we owe so useful an
 “ institution in Ireland, as bringing great numbers
 “ together into one civil community.” Thus we
 see that Mr. O’Conor, in this place, expressly owns,
 what has been the constant tenor of this imperfect
 sketch to evince, that it is to Christianity we must
 ascribe the first dawnings of civility in this country,
 contrary to all that he and others have said of Pagan
 times.

Perfuated as I am, nay perhaps enthusiastically devoted to the opinion, that nature has fully done its duty to this country, I have been more explicit on this subject, than I should otherwise have been; had I not seen so many of its professed advocates betraying its real honour, and sacrificing its native original and underived endowments to the bulky phantom of a fictitious antiquity; i. e. to a regular series of civilization of above thirteen hundred years before the Christian æra, and near eighteen hundred before St. Patrick: During which the Milesians are represented not only as the most learned but the most industrious people on the earth; attributes incompatible with that kind of society which they themselves have so pompously described.

We may, perhaps with pleasure, read the poetic dreams of a golden age in this or any other country; but when we lay aside the book, the illusion vanishes. And he must be a willing dupe to declamation, who can be persuaded, that they were either a great or a happy people, who all dwelt in temporary huts, without either city or great town, destitute of the most simple arts, necessary, not only to the convenience but to the very existence of *civil* society.

Without cities, urbanity and civility cannot take place. In large communities only, the hardness and roughness of naked nature can be ground down and polished: It is from a frequent collision of many minds that those sparks of genius are struck out, which not only enlighten the understanding, but correct the heart; and furnish those innumerable embellishments of art, which give unspeakable charms to social intercourse, and, in some degree, exalt the dignity of human nature.

For this grand, this humanizing, purpose, how incompetent was the tumultuary fair, the military camp, the anniversary *Fes*, or even the permanent
cloisters

cloisters of the Monks? Let us then now, late in the eighteenth century, acknowledge the truth; let us confess, that the farther back we go in our history, the more we find it enveloped in fable or shrouded in darkness. Sallust was not afraid to say of his ancestors, “*Aborigines genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum.*”*

And I may venture to say, it will be difficult to persuade the rest of the world, that we ourselves are perfectly civilized, till we are able to conceive, and willing to confess, that our ancestors were barbarians: as every other nation in the universe, one only excepted, at one time or other, is acknowledged to have been.

But it will be said, could those round towers, so many of which stand, to this day, scattered over every part of this kingdom, be the works of rude ages and an uncivilized people? To which we answer, that, giving full credit to Cambrensis, we allow them to have been built before the English invasion, and also that they were constructed *patrio more*, or in the fashion of the country: for we hear of none any where else, except two in Scotland; which, as we have seen, got every thing, appertaining to religion, from Ireland. But we cannot allow, that they give pregnant evidence of ancient civilization: On the contrary, we look upon them as standing monuments of the rudeness of the time, and place, in which they were erected.

Their slender cylindrical shape, destitute of all beauty, discovers no skill in architecture, for the workmanship is merely that of an ordinary stonemason. Yet that form, commendable now only for its singularity and durability, was chosen upon every principle

Q 2

* Whoever will turn over the four or five first pages of Thucydides will find that he says, in other words, pretty much the same of the Greeks. And had other nations as judicious historians as Sallust and Thucydides the same would be said of them all.

principle of propriety, to answer the purpose for which they were intended ; viz. to hang a bell in to call the monks, from their cloisters, to matins, vespers and other duties.

Without noticing the reveries of some learned men upon the uses to which these towers were applied, I shall only beg of those who suppose them to have been too narrow for belfries, (as their Irish name, *cloghad*, imports,) learn to dissociate modern ideas from ancient times, and the state of other countries from that of Ireland in those times. We have seen that, from the introduction of christianity to the twelfth century, the churches and monasteries in Ireland were built of wood and wattles and fods, covered with scraws and thatch. Bells were not any where, as I learn, introduced for the use of churches before the seventh century ; they could not therefore be thought of in Ireland before the eighth.

Then indeed we may suppose that Irish Ecclesiastics, who travelled, would wish to have the use of a bell in their churches and monasteries ; as we know that Malachy built his stone Oratory, *in imitation of what he had seen abroad*. But where should they hang bells, was the question. Their wooden structures would but ill answer this intention, and perhaps they had not a tree near their convent. This first suggested to them the idea of getting steeples of stone and lime.

And the very poverty of their other religious houses dictated the circular form ; because, they could not be handsomely annexed to edifices of such perishable materials : and they stood isolate and detached, as if disdaining the other buildings to which they were not congenial. That permanency, which they promised, made full atonement for their lean and meagre character : utility, not beauty, being principally aimed at in all the first specimens of architecture in every country. This end, the calling the
friars,

friars, &c. to their acts of devotion, was sufficiently answered by such a bell, as could be hung in a steeple of nine feet in diameter. Where the cloisters were huts, the monks would be content to answer the summons of a bell, not larger than that which we now call a dinner-bell. The pride of the wooden abbey was its little bell and stone belfry.

If modern times have erected steeples, which contain not only one but many bells, it should be remembered that sets of tuneable bells were first cast in the tenth century; and above all it should be considered what prodigious improvements in this respect have been made, all over christendom, since that time: during which, piety, opulence and architecture have combined their efforts to raise the most magnificent temples to the worship of him, "*who dwelleth not in temples made by hands.*"

The oldest of our round towers was not probably earlier than the ninth century, and we may suppose that none were built after the twelfth. They would naturally go into disrepute, as soon as they began to build their other religious fabricks of stone and lime. In the preceding period, a country, which affected no other building of such durable matter, whether in castle or house, church or monastery, must have been destitute of stone-masons: consequently these round towers must have been built, either by Danish mechanics, or by masons brought from beyond sea. Nor let my countrymen be scandalized at this imputation, when they reflect that Solomon was obliged to apply to Hiram, for Tyrian artificers to build the temple of Jerusalem.

In this general state of rudeness was Ireland, in the year 1152, when pope Eugenius sent cardinal Papiron his legate *a Latere* there to consult measures, as he gave out, for the better propagation of the christian faith, but in reality to assert and extend his influence in this kingdom, by conferring
palls

palls on two more archbishops. For this purpose the legate summoned a council at Kells, in the county of Meath, at which he presided.

Keating gives the most full and circumstantial account of this transaction, from an old book, as he calls it, of the Clergy of *Cluain Aidnach*. But he places it five years later.

“ MCLVII anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri
 “ Jesu Christi bissextilis nobile Concilium in vernali
 “ tempore apud CEANANUS celebratum fuit; in
 “ quo præsidens Dominus Johannes Cardinalis,
 “ presbyter beati Laurentii, inter viginti duos epif-
 “ copos & quinque electos, & inter tot abbates &
 “ priores ex parte beatorum apostolorum Petri &
 “ Pauli & domini apostolici Eugenii, simoniam &
 “ usuras omnibus modis extirpavit & damnavit, &
 “ decimas dandas apostolica autoritate præcepit.
 “ Quatuor pallia quatuor episcopis Hiberniæ Dub-
 “ liniensi, Tuaimensi, Caiselensi & Ardmachano
 “ tradidit. Insuper Ardmachanum episcopum in
 “ prin atem super alios, prout decuit, ordinavit.”
 ‘ In the spring of the year 1157, being bissextile, a
 ‘ great council was held in Kells, consisting of
 ‘ twenty-two bishops and five elect, together with an
 ‘ equal number of abbots and priors, belonging to
 ‘ the apostles Peter and Paul, and pope Eugenius;
 ‘ over whom was president, the lord cardinal John,
 ‘ priest of St. Laurence. This council condemned
 ‘ simony and usury, and ordained, that tithes should
 ‘ be paid by the authority of the pope. From
 ‘ whom the cardinal delivered four *palls* to the
 ‘ archbishops of Dublin, Tuam, Cashel and Ar-
 ‘ magh. Moreover he established the ancient right
 ‘ of the bishop of Armagh to the primacy of all
 ‘ Ireland.’

Whilst the splendor of this ceremony dazzled the eyes of the vulgar, it entailed a spiritual tyranny upon Ireland, which has maintained its ground longer here than in almost any other country of Europe; and which has conspired, with other causes, to ex-
 clude

clude the majority of its people from the full benefits both of religious and political liberty, even to this day. Yet Keating remarks that the making two new archbishops, was, “ *very ungrateful to the Irish,*” “ for they would have been better satisfied with the old form, without the addition of any more.” He observes too, that it was particularly distasteful to the clergy of Armagh, that even Cashel, though from the first an archbishopric, should obtain the pall.

Whence we may infer, that Malachy had only sought a pall for himself as primate. For originally the pall was given by the popes, in imitation of the emperors, merely as a token of honour and respect. But now the ambitious policy of the see of Rome, had converted it into an engine of state; which invested a bishop with metropolitical jurisdiction. It was therefore a wise measure to refuse Malachy one, at his own mere motion, and to grant it in this solemn manner; but it was still wiser to give *four*, at the same time; for by this boon the pope widened the basis of that sovereignty in Ireland, which his court had so long affected.

And thus, for the first time, was the Pope's authority solemnly recognized in Ireland. Yet this recognition made no very visible alteration in the state of the church. It was still destitute of uniformity in its modes of public worship; each diocese, nay sometimes particular churches, had their particular rituals, and the priests were still averse to renouncing the matrimonial connection.

Vignier gives a curious account of this last circumstance: “ Les Irlandois, ne voulant endurer
 “ leur prestres sans avoir leur femmes aux eux,
 “ furent, ceste annee, declarez rebelles & heretiques,
 “ par le pape Adrian; qui aussi donnoit charge au
 “ Roi d'Angleterre de les guerrouer a toute out-
 “ renae; en vertu de quoy, il mena un arme contre
 “ eux, que les subjuga, & contrainist de se souf-
 “ mestre

“mestre a fa volonte.” ‘The Irish could not endure it, that their priests should live without wives: in consequence of which they were denounced rebels and heretics, by pope Adrian. Who also gave it in charge to the king of England, to make war upon them; in obedience to which he raised an army, with which he subjugated them, and constrained them to submit to the pope’s authority.’

According to this Catholic historian, it should seem, as if Henry II.’s only motive for reducing Ireland, was to abolish matrimony, and to become collector of the Pope’s *peter-pence*; which, we have already seen, is more than once recommended in Adrian’s bull, sent to him; several years before he set foot in this country when he formally bestowed on him and his heirs, the kingdom of Ireland; together with a gold ring, as the significative token of his investiture therewith.

S E C T.

S E C T. XII.

HA V I N G only touched, incidentally, on the invasion from England, it behoveth to enlarge more upon it, now that we are come to the century in which it took place; for this event brought about a revolution, the most important to Ireland, both in church and state. But as the motives and conduct of Henry II. and the other great agents in this transaction, belong chiefly to civil history, our strictures shall be confined to the circumstances most closely connected with its ecclesiastical affairs.

In the year 1170, so soon as the Irish received certain intelligence of the invasion of the English, a council, of almost all the principal clergy of the kingdom, was convened at Armagh; to enquire into the causes which now invited those foreigners to come over, in that hostile manner, which they threatened.

After long deliberation upon this momentous question, the council finally settled in this opinion, that it was for the crying sins of the people that the chastisement of God was thus hanging over them; and that they were to be brought into servitude, particularly by the English, as a just retaliation for their having made slaves of so many of the English nation, whom they had bought from merchantmen, robbers and pirates. Not considering, what Cambrensis upon this place admits, that it was the

the common vice of the English, from their first settlement in Britain, *to expose their children and relations to sale rather than that they should suffer any want.*

The certainty of this custom is confirmed by Milton, who from good authority shews, that “the wife of earl Godwin, who was sister to Canute, the Danish king of England, made great gain by the trade, she drove, of buying up English youths and maids to sell to Denmark.” If any thing more were necessary, to shew that barbarism was not peculiar to Ireland, in those early days, be it observed from the same authority, that “before the Normans came, the clergy, even under Edward the Confessor, were scarce able to read and understand their Latin service: He was a miracle to others who knew his grammar.” Hence may we see why grammar and the science of magic were at one time supposed to be so nearly allied.

However, the council of Armagh unanimously decreed, that the English slaves, all over the island, should be emancipated, and suffered to enjoy their pristine liberty in their own country. Yet all this did not avail, for the nation, divided and subdivided into a multiplicity of states, had no sense of a common interest; and as each of these, more hostile to their next neighbours than to the English, fought separately against the common enemy, they were separately defeated, by an army of English adventurers; who undertook this enterprise, at the instigation of the king of Leinster, and with the consent of the king of England; who had, in the year 1156, obtained pope Adrian’s BULL, authorising him to invade the kingdom, as we have already observed. Henry II. however, was not the first English monarch who had the same views. They saw this kingdom divided and distracted by internal feuds and dissensions, and could not be insensible that it must fall an easy prey to any

any powerful invader, and therefore they only waited for leisure and opportunity to invade it. The same motives operated on Agricola, some centuries before the name of England was known, when he signified his opinion to the Roman senate, that Ireland might be subdued, by a single legion and some auxiliaries. And observable it is, that he was confirmed in this opinion by an Irish prince, driven from his country, as Dermot was, and who in like manner applied to him for assistance, against his neighbouring enemies. We have authority also to shew—though not indeed equal to that of Tacitus—that the Danes were invited here by domestic faction. From all which circumstances combined, it is not rash to conclude, that Irish manners were pretty much the same in the days of Agricola, Turgesius and Strongbow. Similar manners, similar laws, similar animosities, and similar disunion most certainly prevailed.

When, therefore, we see this people unable to withstand the attacks of an enemy, so inferior in numbers, we are neither to attribute it to excess of valour in the invaders, nor to want of prowess in the invaded. The disparity of civil and military attainments must account for the ascendancy of the English, over the Irish, at this period; as it does for that which the Romans formerly obtained over the Gauls, Britons and other barbarous nations.

It is true that the English were not, at this period, perfectly civilized; they were nevertheless become sensible, that national union was national strength:—They were precisely in that state when the splendor of martial achievements added the highest lustre, to the character of the citizen; and when the most fierce and daring exertions of courage, made ample atonement for the want of justice, of learning, and of those arts of peace, which humanize our nature, polish manners, and embellish society. They had been long inured to war both
abroad

abroad and at home ; and they, who undertook the Irish expedition, were the most vigorous and hardy volunteers of the nation ; armed at all points, and thoroughly versed in the Norman tactics, then the most excellent in Europe. And now united in one design, they were animated by one soul, and governed by one mind ! No wonder that the impressions of such men, were formidable to a people, but little removed from the infancy of society, and who, though endowed with all the best gifts of nature, were not yet enlightened with any idea of a national interest, nor warmed by any zealous ardour for its defence. They always made resistance and frequently the attack, but their resistance was feeble, because they knew no discipline, and their attack was easily repulsed, because, though impetuous, it was not supported by conduct. Even their personal courage but little availed them in battle, for as their country was destitute of castles and fortresses, so their bodies were almost naked, and wholly unprotected by the shield, the helmet, or coat of mail. They had indeed a sort of sword, but their general weapons were axes and pitchforks, and staves. Even the use of the bow was unknown among them.

The Irish monarch saw his power on the point of dissolution, and he either used no means to preserve it, or his endeavours proved ineffectual. A weak prince was ill able to remedy the defects of one of the worst systems of human policy. If the subordinate princes saw the inevitable translation of their monarchy, they saw it with indifference, if not with an envious and malignant satisfaction. Each confined his views to his own little interest, or that of his tribe, with a sordid purpose of averting private evils, without the smallest attachment to the interest of the island at large. This was a grasp of thought, too expansive for the minds of men, in such a rude state of society as Ireland then found itself. No sense of public

public interest, no feeling of public spirit could, even for the time, stifle their implacable resentments or compose their unextinguishable feuds.

The cities of Wexford, Waterford and Dublin were in the hands of Dermod and his confederates Fitzstephen, Fitzgerald and Strongbow, before any considerable association was formed by the Irish princes; and Dermod, foolishly thinking these Nobles came over to conquer for him, began to affect the monarchy. Such was his barbarous ambition!

These rapid victories of his subjects inflamed the jealousy of king Henry, and stung him in the most vulnerable part. Whilst he envied Strongbow those laurels he had gathered, he dreaded lest his alliances in England and his marriage in Ireland, with the kingdom of Leinster as a dower, might enable him to reduce the whole island, and there set up an independent sovereignty. He affected the utmost indignation. And, though the Earl had not moved a step without his consent, the king asserted that he acted in violation of royal authority, and contrary to his express prohibition. He immediately issued a proclamation, commanding all his subjects, who had gone to Ireland, to return before the next Easter festival, on pain of perpetual banishment and forfeiture of their estates.

Strongbow soon found himself forsaken by many of his English knights; and the death of his father-in-law Dermod, happening about the same time, was succeeded by the almost total defection of the Irish. So that instead of being invested with the kingdom of Leinster (the inheritance of which by *marriage settlement* devolved on him) he found himself reduced to the extremity of distress, and in want of almost every necessary.

In this critical juncture, when both England and Ireland appeared equally hostile to those forlorn adventurers, who adhered to the Earl of Chepstow, arose Laurence O'Tool to a height of eminence which raised

ed him far above the standard of the times he lived in. Descended from the famous monarch Tuathal, and of the princely family who then possessed the territory, since called, Wicklow, his birth and connections recommended him early to the Archbishopric of Dublin; but his talents and accomplishments reflected a lustre on the high station which he filled. An extensive hospitality mixed with correct temperance and suavity of deportment engaged the affections of the higher ranks, and gave him an absolute ascendancy in public affairs. Dignified without swell and pious without affectation, he found respect at all times and all places, not because he claimed it, but because he deserved it. Applause followed him because he was praise worthy, and he extorted blessings, not execrations, even from his enemies, if he had any; for he considered none as such but the enemies of his country. This virtuous, this patriot, prelate exhibited an illustrious example of what is not always seen (in that or any other station) of power, arrayed in the garment of authority: His place and station gave him the former, but the gracious discharge of his function, the sterling character of his principles and manners could alone invest him with the latter. This honest influence he employed to the best of purposes, not only in the discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, but in regulating the secular concerns of the people. He laboured with unremitting zeal, to assuage the rage of party, and to moderate the heat of ambition, which though narrow was generally so ardent as to consume the possessor.

When the English first invaded the realm, he expostulated with the contending princes to suspend their petty feuds, for the present, and unite against the common enemy. But in vain! He came upon the stage of life, by many centuries too early, to see his countrymen act a wise political part. They were not so ignorant as not to see the wisdom of his counsels, but they were not enough enlightened to pursue

pursue his measures. And now finding the English affairs taking an unexpected and adverse turn, his hopes revived, of forming such an association of his countrymen as might expel this handful of invaders. His wish was the independence of his country, his object was Ireland at large ; every corner of which he visited. He flew from province to province, and from chieftain to chieftain : He represented to them that it was not yet too late to make one noble, one generous effort. “ Your most difficult conquest, says he, will be the conquest of yourselves, subdue your own animosities, compose your private contentions, and vanquish your ill-timed jealousies, and you will gain an easy victory over your common enemy ; triumph over your own misguided passions, and then you must triumph over these English. Now is the golden opportunity, seize it, for you may never find another. Now is the time, the only time you can ever hope for, to exterminate these arrogant foreigners, worn out by difficulties, deserted by Leinster, and abandoned by their king ; that potent king of England, who has so long waited for a fit occasion to come over in person and complete your slavery. These audacious men vauntingly give out that the destinies have pointed out to them the sovereign dominion of our island. If we are to be enslaved, if the fates have decreed our doom, know this, that we shall be conquered not by external force, but by internal dissention : For so was wrought the overthrow of all other nations. When Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, he met a severe repulse, and returned home ; but being invited back by some faithless natives, he subdued the whole nation. Who called in the Saxons, and who, in after ages, exterminated from Britain, the British race ? Britons, perfidious Britons, who bartered public liberty for private vengeance, and contemptible ambition. Let us grow wise by example. Let unanimity pervade our councils. Let us fight as one man. Whilst our

enemy

enemy are few in number let us courageously set upon them. While the spark is kindling, it may be easily put out, but if it break into flames, it is hard to be quenched."

These remonstrances were not without effect. They raised a spirit of indignation among those whom he addressed. And the political prelate, not contented with engaging his countrymen, dispatched emissaries to Godred king of Man, (who held that with the Hebrides and the Orkney isles, in fee, of the crown of Norway,) to assist him with a fleet, which might shut up the city of Dublin by sea; while the Irish army, under the auspices of the monarch, might block it up by land.

Strongbow, informed of these designs, threw himself into the city with all the forces and stores he could muster. The king of Man sent thirty ships, armed with soldiers, to cruise in the port; and the Irish army formed a blockade all round the city. The O'Rourks, the O'Cavanaghs, the O'Tools, the O'Kinselaghs, the O'Briens &c. &c. had their several stations under the standard of O'Conor. Even the Archbishop himself appeared now in arms, and commanded a powerful body with a martial spirit, not unusual in the prelates of those days, but seldom exerted in a cause so virtuous as the present. Their numbers, though greatly exaggerated, were so formidable, that the besieged were reduced to the utmost difficulties. They became every day more and more distressed for provisions, and of course the garrison became weak and distempered. The besiegers expected that, without making any assault, they should at length reduce them by famine, and by cutting off their supplies from England, oblige them to surrender at discretion.

Dublin had been now, for near two months, closely invested, when, to extricate themselves from this perilous situation, Strongbow called a council of war; in which it was resolved to enter into a treaty with

with Roderic, and to apply to the Archbishop of Dublin for his mediation. This excellent prelate readily undertook a negociation for peace, so suitable to his character. Strongbow proposed to acknowledge Roderic for his Sovereign, and to hold the province of Leinster, in fee, from the Irish Monarch, provided he would raise the siege and accept him as his vassal.

Laurence engaged to bear the proposal to Roderic and soon returned with answer: "That the only terms his king would grant were these: that Dublin, Waterford, Wexford and all other forts, possessed by the English, should be immediately surrendered, and that, renouncing all claims whatever, they might then depart the kingdom with safety; but, otherwise, that the city should be stormed and every soul put to the sword."

These terms, probably framed by Laurence, cannot appear (says Lord Lyttelton) either unreasonable or insolent, when we consider that, in all human probability, the English were now absolutely in the power of the besiegers; that Strongbow made use of treaty, as his last resource, to extricate himself from his present difficulties; and that, if relieved, it would then be at his option, either to adhere to it or not, as might best suit the exigency of his affairs. It would then have been extreme folly of the Irish to let slip such a golden occasion, which might never again offer itself, of exterminating these needy invaders, whose avowed purpose was to conquer their country.

But, at the very nick of time, when these terms were returned, advice is brought that Fitzstephen, the first great adventurer in this invasion, was sorely pressed by the Irish, at Wexford, and must fall a victim to the fury of his implacable enemies, unless speedily relieved. Fitzstephen had a peculiar claim to a grateful attention; for he had generously sent a larger reinforcement, than he could well spare, to the relief of Dublin.

These accumulated misfortunes, had well nigh subdued the resolution of the English, when the counsel of Fitzgerald prevailed and decided the fate of Ireland. Fitzgerald was of all men most interested in the present emergency: Half-brother to Fitzstephen, he had left his wife and children under his protection at Wexford; which they then deemed a post of security. Roused by this intelligence, of the imminent danger, to which his family was exposed, he addressed his countrymen in words to this effect:

“ Noble commanders, and fellow foldiers in the
 “ field, have you so soon forgot what brought us
 “ into Ireland? If we had staid at home we might,
 “ without danger, have indulged ourselves in warm
 “ houses, soft beds and dainty dishes. But let the
 “ filken sons of indolence, indulge in such luxuries,
 “ it is ours to tread the thorny paths, which lead
 “ activity to honour. What! did we come here
 “ to sport or to fight? to handle our arms, or to
 “ mark the sand falling through the hour-glass?
 “ shall we tamely look upon the declining state of
 “ our affairs? affairs which, of late so flourishing,
 “ are now tottering to their foundations? Where
 “ is our ancient dignity? Where is our pristine
 “ firmness? Have we not already suffered sufficient
 “ misery? Cooped up, as we are, for two long
 “ months of restless days, and sleepless nights?
 “ Our justly enraged enemies, will be gratified with
 “ nothing less than our blood, and all the blood in
 “ our veins will be but a sop to such a multitude.
 “ Fitzstephen, the gallant Fitzstephen, who first
 “ landed in Ireland, and taught us how to conquer,
 “ Fitzstephen, whose liberal soul parted with his
 “ garrison to relieve us, by this time sees himself,
 “ his wife and his children, upon the verge of cap-
 “ tivity, barbarous captivity, the prey of bloody
 “ ruffians, whose lust may be stimulated by revenge.
 “ What then shall we do? shall we crouch and beg
 “ mercy

“ mercy from an enemy, whose wrath is inexorable,
 “ and whose clemency we cannot expect? But,
 “ suppose our enemies were not implacable, can
 “ the victor stoop to the vanquished? The very
 “ thought of supplication, should to a warrior be
 “ worse than death. Better to die ten thousand
 “ deaths, than only live to breath dishonour.

“ But you’ll say, that we shall soon procure sup-
 “ plies from England. Alas! our sovereign has
 “ interdicted us from fire and water, and would not
 “ let us breath the common air, if he could lay an
 “ embargo upon that element. To such a practical
 “ dilemma, are we reduced, that we are Englishmen
 “ to the Irish, and Irishmen to the English. The
 “ one would starve us, and the other cut our
 “ throats. Wherefore, since we must perish from
 “ famine, if we linger longer here, let us at once
 “ die as becomes free born souls, exerting the force
 “ which still remains, for the safety of ourselves,
 “ and the deliverance of our friends. Let us rush
 “ upon our enemies, we may find them careless and
 “ unprepared, and then we shall obtain a glorious
 “ victory; but if not, we shall fall like men, and
 “ not die like dogs.”

The cause of Fitzgerald, more than his harangue, animated the whole assembly. The leaders applauded his sentiments, and the soldiers caught the flame. They immediately resolved to make a sally next day, and set upon the monarch in his camp. Six hundred men were all that could be spared for this desperate attack. But it was sufficient. Then it was seen that *vis concilii expers mole ruit sua*. The many thousands of the Irish, which had invested Dublin, were but as a rope of sand. Instead of forming one body, actuated by one mind and directed by one commander, they were divided into separate and distinct armies; the leaders of which preserving their local and family animosities, were

neither solicitous for the safety or honour of their associates, nor implicitly obedient to their general, the monarch; who knew no more how to command than his subjects to obey.

This desperate and determined band, which sallied from the town, found Roderic as unprepared as they could wish, careless because secure, and so unsuspecting of an attack, that he was bathing himself in the Liffey; from whence he started in nakedness and amazement, only to join the general rout. The other chieftains, upon hearing of his discomfiture, broke up their camps without discovering the least zeal for his service; and then the fleet of Godred returned to the islands from whence they came.

In this situation were affairs, in Ireland, when king Henry himself landed at Waterford, October 1171, with a force of about five thousand well appointed knights and men at arms. This was a formidable object to the Irish, and their awe must have been augmented when they saw Strongbow, now lord of Leinster, make a formal surrender of that kingdom, and do homage for it in the most suppliant manner, and also for Dublin, which was before a Danish city. From what they had felt, and from what they now saw, they were so dispirited, that, relinquishing all idea of resistance, they only vied with each other, in who should be the first to make their submission to Henry. The lords of Leinster, deemed subordination to the king of England, more honourable than to his subject the earl of Chepstow; and the other chieftains, who paid a reluctant tribute to Roderic O'Connor, might not be much displeased in transferring their vassalage from him, to the more powerful Henry Plantagenet.

Affairs succeeding so prosperously with the king, he called a council at Cashel, not only of ecclesiastics,

astics, but of the great lords who had submitted to him : at which, Christian, bishop of Lismore, presided, as pope's legate ; which probably gave occasion to the mistake, that this assembly was held at Lismore. But, be this as it may, the professed design of the meeting was, in conformity to Adrian's bull, now confirmed by the *breve* of Alexander, the reigning pope, to settle the affairs of the church, and to devise remedies for that ignorance and vice of which the Popes complained, and which they had not been able to remove by the palls sent by Eugenius, nor by the constitutions of cardinal Paparon at the council of Kells in the year 1152.

But the king had another view in calling the states of the nation together, he wished to obtain the most solemn and formal recognition of his title, to his newly acquired dominion of the whole kingdom. In which expectation he was not altogether gratified, nor altogether disappointed. For Roderic the monarch still stood out, rejecting the proposals of those commissioners whom Henry sent to persuade him to surrender, and declaring his resolution not to yield up his title to the imperial crown of Ireland : neither did O'Nial the potent dynast of Ulster, submit upon this occasion. But all the other great chieftains of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, did homage and swore fealty to him as their liege sovereign, and lord paramount. The bishops too, acknowledged him as the sovereign lord of the whole island, and gave him instruments of their submission, with their seals appendant. Gelafius, the primate, alone was absent ; and he pleaded old age for absenting himself, though he probably had other motives. He was not the pope's legate.

The principal ordinance of this assembly was a conformity of worship with the church of England, which was then in uniformity with that of Rome.

The

The clergy upon this occasion, if the Archdeacon of St. David's has truly represented them, expressed their promptitude to conform in the most obsequious strain of servile adulation. *Dignum enim & justissimum*, &c. "It is most just and meet that as Ireland hath providentially received a Lord and King from England so she may receive from England also a better form of living. For to this magnificent prince are both the church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever benefits of peace and increase of religion they have hitherto obtained. Since, for ages before his coming among us, a multitude of various evils had rooted themselves and overspread the land; which by his power and favour are already extirpated."

But the liberal grants which Henry made to the Church on this occasion, his exempting the persons of the clergy from criminal jurisdiction in the civil courts, and their lands from all secular exactions, were such boons as demanded no small return of gratitude. And doubtless, Henry was not without hopes that his favour to the hierarchy, and clergy at large, would have this effect. He expected that it would ensure their co-operation with the Pope, and by attaching them to his own interest he relied on their influence with the people, to reconcile them to a foreign yoke.

The other ordinances of this council were of too trivial a nature to answer those purposes which Adrian and Alexander pointed out, viz. *the enlarging the borders of the Church, and removing ignorance and depravity*; for they only forbid marriages within the prohibited degrees, directed that baptism should be publicly administered, that effects should be bequeathed, by will, in certain proportions, and that all corpses should be decently buried in hallowed ground.

But inadequate as those ordinances then were, to work a thorough reformation in the manners, morals or religion of the people, the solemn formality, in which

which they were enacted, has proved sufficient to establish papal supremacy so firmly in Ireland, that no change of circumstances, which have operated in other countries, no pains or penalties, no wars or forfeitures, so incident to this, have been yet much able to shake it. Whether it be, that, prosperity having been in all ages unknown to the Irish, adversity was not to them a punishment; or whether it be, that the mistaken policy of the English government has, for the last two hundred years, unhappily conspired with the artful policy of the Hierarchy to keep the laity in ignorance; I say, whether it be from these or other causes combined, the fact is certain, that the bulk of this nation has discovered none of that levity and fickleness, in their attachment to a foreign jurisdiction, which in all other respects is imputed to them. And the successors of Henry Plantagenet have frequently found to their cost, that this great Prince was more successful in conforming the ecclesiastical polity of Ireland to that of Rome, than in forming its civil polity upon the model of England.

Nay, Henry himself had not completed his hasty arrangements in Ireland, before he was made to see the folly of his overstrained obsequiousness to the supremacy of Rome; and he was, by woeful experience, soon made to feel, that whilst he was aggrandizing a foreign jurisdiction, he was only preparing a rod to chastise himself and humiliate his crown.

The murder of Becket was recent: That ungrateful prelate owed all his advancement to the favour of his sovereign; yet no sooner was he invested with the primacy of England, than he turned all its influence against the hand that raised him, and laboured to set the dominion of the hierarchy above the royal prerogative, to the degradation of the Church of England and a surrender of its liberties. Certain rash expressions, which fell from the king, were said
to

to be the cause of the Primate's death. For which he was enjoined penance.

And now behold the first-fruits of his solemn recognition of the Pope's supremacy in accepting the dominion of Ireland as a gift. No sooner had he crossed the channel, than he made a parade of his penitence for the death of Becket. He walked on foot to the cathedral of St. David's, and there performed all those acts of austere devotion, which real superstition or mock religion could devise, as atonements for the share he had in shedding the blood of St. Thomas, that devoted martyr to papal power.

This, however, did not suffice. His pressing exigencies in Normandy had carried him, prematurely, from Ireland. But two Cardinals had been long waiting his return to claim satisfaction for that murder, which he was supposed to have instigated. An interdict would have terrified all his subjects, and withdrawn the allegiance of most of them, both in Normandy and England; and thus have disconcerted all his schemes of ambition. Unable to withstand the lightning of ecclesiastical thunders, now ready to burst upon him, from the dark and troubled clouds of credulity and ignorance, he had no alternative but to bow his neck in obedience to the commands of the Cardinals, and prostrate himself, in all humility, before the footstool of the sovereign throne of superstition.

He was obliged to consent to every requisition. After taking an oath, in the presence of the Legatine Cardinals, that he had neither ordered nor devised the death of Becket; he engages to give, in the course of a twelvemonth, so much money as the Knights Templars should deem sufficient, to maintain two hundred knights for the defence of the holy land; and that after Christmas he would take the cross himself for three years, and go in person to Palestine:—That he should neither hinder himself, nor suffer others to hinder, appeals from being
made

made *bona fide* in ecclesiastical cases to the Roman Pontiff, so that they may be tried and determined by his judgment:—That he should absolutely give up those constitutions of Clarendon which had been introduced by him in favour of the ecclesiastics of his own kingdom:—And lastly, that all forfeitures on the score of Becket should be restored.

Such were the conditions of Henry's absolution; and better conditions, says lord Lyttelton, they appear to have been, all circumstances considered, than he had reason to expect. But, be this as it may, certain it is, that Henry's affairs at this time had a very gloomy aspect, and even after his successes in France, the flames of civil war, which had been first kindled there, began to break out in England. This consideration alone leaves little time to hesitate, whether odious hypocrisy or contemptible superstition determined Henry to debase, at once, religion and majesty, by the ignominious method of atonement, to which he voluntarily yielded on his landing in England.

The pope had, by bull, declared Becket a saint and a martyr, and appointed an anniversary festival to be kept on the day of his death. The whole realm was now filled with the fame of the miracles performed at his tomb, and it was the fashion to believe, that being applied to by the prayers of the faithful, he would intercede with God for the clergy and people of England. Henry, therefore, to conciliate the affections of his subjects, many of whom were now in arms against him, thought it expedient to visit the shrine of this new-created saint, whom his partisans had dispatched. And now behold, in this mighty monarch of a very extensive empire, the most degraded image of royalty, the most humiliating spectacle of the imbecility of human nature. As soon as he came within sight of the tower of Canterbury cathedral, at the distance

distance of three miles, he descended from his horse, and walked thither barefoot, over a road, full of rough and sharp stones, which so wounded his feet that, in many places, they were stained with his blood.

When he got to the tomb, which was then in the crypt of the church, he threw himself prostrate before it, and remained for some time in fervent prayer; during which, by his orders, the bishop of London, in his name, declared to the people, “ that he had neither commanded nor advised, nor
“ by artifice contrived the death of Becket; for the
“ truth of which he appealed, in the most solemn
“ manner, to the testimony of God: But as the
“ murderers of that prelate had taken occasion from
“ his words, too inconsiderately spoken, to com-
“ mit this offence, he voluntarily submitted himself
“ to the discipline of the church.”

After this he was scourged by all the monks of the convent, assembled for that purpose; from every one of whom, and from several bishops and abbots, there present, he received three or four stripes. This severe penance being performed, he returned to his prayers before the tomb, which he continued all that day and all the next night, not even suffering a carpet to be spread beneath him, but kneeling on the hard pavement. Early in the morning he went round all the altars of the church, and paid his devotions to the bodies of the Saints there interred. Then he came back to Becket's tomb, where he staid until the hour when mass was said in the church, at which he assisted.

During all this time, he had taken no kind of food, and, except when he gave his naked body to be whipt, was clad in sackcloth. Before his departure from thence, that he might fulfil all the righteousness of the see of Rome, he assigned a revenue, of forty pounds a year, to keep lights
always

always burning in honour of Becket, around his tomb. The next evening he reached London, where he found it necessary to be blooded and rest some days*.

Having now traced the steps which were taken to introduce English domination, Papal supremacy, and the Roman ritual into Ireland, we may observe that Voltaire was not altogether unfounded when he said that *Ireland was conquered by an English Baron*. But, if the Irish in the twelfth century had been in any high degree removed from the infancy of society, such an important revolution could not have taken place in the manner it did; unless from that fictitious *inferiority of genius*, which the same fanciful historian attributes to them. But away with such peevish, such childish reflections! Ireland has to this day cause to lament that she never felt, like other European nations, the Roman yoke; for those polished conquerors would certainly have sown the seeds of civility in it, whatever crop it might have borne. But the Danes and other northern rovers, themselves so uncivilized, were incapable of doing this: Their desultory invasions, and even established settlements, served rather to increase and confirm that predatory life, to which the natives were before so incident.

If Henry II. had made a complete reduction of Ireland, he would probably have done with the whole kingdom as he did with the colony which he planted in Leinster; he would have communicated to all the natives the common benefits of the English laws and the English constitution; as far as they were then capable of receiving them. And then (can we doubt it?) both English and Irish would have been long since, incorporated as one people, and instead of plotting and contriving mutual depression and mutual destruction, they would by this time, have

* Lord Lyttelton.

have consulted mutual aggrandisement and mutual happiness.

But the distractions of Henry II. with the church, with his children, and with his continental dominions, prevented him from making any thing like a conquest (whatever it may be called) of the whole kingdom. In the most prosperous period before the War of the Roses, the English settlements never extended to above a third of the island; and the statute of Kilkenny, (by which the natives, before aliens, were not only excluded from the benefit of the English law, but declared enemies) had narrowed them to a much smaller compass.

The son of the great Edward III. though invested with all the authority and power of Chief Governor, was not able to recover the estates which he got in dower with his wife, the heiress of the Earl of Ulster and Conaught. One of the O'Neals seized that territory in Antrim, which De Courcy, first, and, afterwards, De Burgo had won from O'Heoghy, (sur-named *Dunsleve*, i. e. of the mountains) and established the Clan-Hugh-boy there. And in Connaught the two principal males of the house of De Burgo agreed to share that earldom between them, and renouncing the very name of Englishmen, retained it under the Brehon law, the one called Mac William *eighter* and the other Mac William *ough-ter*.

In north Munster, the power of O'Brien, though checked, maintained his claims; and in South Munster, the Earl of Desmond ruled in all the barbarism of the Brehon jurisdiction. In Leinster, one of the Cavanaghs, of the blood of old king Dermot, possessed himself of the county of Carlow; and O'More wrested from Mortimer that territory of Leix now called the King and Queen's county. " Thus more
" than a third part of Leinster, says Sir John Davis,
" became degenerate, and fell away from the crown
" of

“ of England, so as only four shires of the English
 “ pale remained under obedience of the law.”

Cambden remarks, that “ till the time of Queen
 “ Elizabeth, the English had very easy wars in Ire-
 “ land ;” and after enumerating several instances
 where they had defeated huge armies of the Irish
 with numbers vastly inferior, he adds “ But
 “ after that the Irish were, by Perrot’s command-
 “ ment, trained daily at home and taught the use
 “ of their weapons, that they might be more ready
 “ servitors against the Hebridians; and afterwards,
 “ being bred up in the Netherlands, they had learn-
 “ ed the manner of fortifications, they then certain-
 “ ly exercised the English with a more difficult
 “ war.”

This war, was that conducted by that great cap-
 tain Hugh O’Nial earl of Tir-oen ; soon after the
 conclusion of which Davies wrote his book, intitled,
 “ A Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was
 “ never entirely subdued, nor brought under obe-
 “ dience, to the crowne of England, until the be-
 “ ginning of the reign of James the First.” Yet
 that excellent writer was scarce cold in his grave,
 when the most formidable and bloody rebellion,
 which ever raged, perhaps in any country, spread
 itself over the whole realm. “ From the prosecu-
 “ tion of which, says Dr. Heylin, one must needs
 “ conclude, that the Irish want not men enough
 “ for service, nor skill, nor courage to attempt the
 “ most difficult enterprizes.”

And in like manner, should every dispassionate
 and enlightened person speak of this people. For
 we see them soon after, long before the end of the
 same century, engaged in a war which can never be
 called a rebellion, because undertaken in behlaf of
 the King upon the throne, who shewed himself as
 unworthy to reign over them, as they were prodi-
 gal of their blood in his support. At the Boyne, they
 were easily defeated, because they were new raised
 troops,

troops, and their dastard king stood at a distance from the fight. But mark their improvement in the course of a year ! At Aughrim, now formed, by French tactics, they displayed the firmness of veterans and did not retreat, till St. Ruth fell ; whose jealousy of the next in command had concealed the disposition of the field.

Vain is it then to say, as Voltaire and others have said, that the Irish never fight well at home, though they always distinguished themselves abroad, especially when opposed to the English. It is repugnant to all reason to suppose that they would not behave as well at home as abroad, if they were equally inured to the habits and manœuvres of discipline. But when was this the case, except on the occasion to which I have referred ? or perhaps at the siege of Limerick, from which their brave general Sarsfield made even the prince of Orange retire, and at length obtained such honourable conditions for his country.

If any atonement can be made, for this anticipation of our civil history, it must be for sake of that conclusion which may be drawn from it, and from almost the whole of this work, viz. that the Irish want not talents for the arts of either peace or war, but that these talents have, at no period, been improved to that high degree of which they are so susceptible.

Every page in the history of Ireland, whether literary, ecclesiastical, or civil, points to the execution of some great plan for the illumination of a people, whose genius, like the rude and rough gem, is either unknown or despised ; and yet, if polished, would not only shine but sparkle. The very æra to which this sketch has been deduced, viz. the revolution brought about by Henry II. in the religion and government of this country, is pregnant with instruction, and affords a formidable lesson of the direful effects of that *imperium in imperio* which ignorance had set up *universally* in the twelfth century, and

and of which the sad vestiges are, to this day, *particularly* traced in this uncultivated land.

Having now traced those steps by which the dominion of Ireland was annexed to the crown of England, I should here conclude these desultory strictures, did I not wish to give a view of the state of the church, after its being assimilated to that of England and subjected to that of Rome.

We have seen how ineffectual the endeavours of the Archbishop of Dublin proved to liberate his country; and we shall find that his zeal remained unabated in every vicissitude of its fortune. After being obliged to bow to the sovereignty of the new Lord of Ireland, he took an ineffectual journey into England, soon after the king's return from Normandy, to lay before him the grievances of his newly acquired kingdom, and to pour out the effusions of a heart bleeding for the unmerited miseries it endured. And at the council of Lateran A. D. 1179, he not only made the strongest remonstrances against the injustice of the English in their management of Ireland, but pleaded, with zeal and success, in favour of the rights of his country and the immunities of its church. I will never believe, that this great, this good man, bound himself by a solemn oath, before his obtaining the permission of Henry to attend this council, that he would not there attempt any thing derogatory to the king's authority: for, however deeply he was penetrated by a sense of duty to his country, he felt himself under an higher obligation to truth and to his God. As it would add nothing to the praise of this virtuous prelate that he was canonized a saint by the See of Rome; so it will not in the least tarnish the lustre of his character, to recollect that he died in banishment, under the displeasure of King Henry, whose interests he had opposed at Lateran.

After pulling up the weeds which grew upon the grave of our noble, our virtuous, our patriot saint
Laurence,

Laurence, we pass with melancholy to the gloomy state of the nation at this period. The Archbishopric of Dublin was already found to be a place of too great consequence to be intrusted to an Irishman. The king, therefore, immediately dispatched a chaplain of the Pope's legate to put it under sequestration: who, during the short time he governed the See, did every thing he could to extend the supremacy of his court in Ireland; and for this purpose he ordered all appeals to Rome.

Yet we do not find that this Ecclesiastic's attachment to a foreign jurisdiction produced any reform in the Irish church. For in the year 1185, when John Cumyn, an Englishman, governed the see of Dublin, O'Molloy, abbot of Baltinglass and afterwards bishop of Ferns, preaching before a provincial synod, (called by the Archbishop,) against the incontinence of the clergy, layed the fault upon the English and Welsh, whose example, he asserted, had vitiated their brethren of Ireland. Giraldus Cambrensis, who was present, made a sharp reply to the preacher, after the sermon was ended; whereupon a bitter contest arose between him and the abbot. From all which a moderate man may conclude, that there were faults on both sides.

S U P P L E M E N T.

L E T T E R S

T O A N D F R O M

IERNEUS, Colonel VALLANCEY, Mr. BURKE,
OTHO, VERITAS, &c.

IN the introduction to the foregoing work it was observed (pag. 5.) that during the course of its first publication in a periodical paper, under the signature of IERNEUS, the gentlemen, who had been associates of Colonel Vallancey, in writing the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, departed from him, and published in the same paper a long series of letters addressed to IERNEUS; and that a friend of the Colonel's had taken up the pen in his defence, which he seemed to rest upon a letter from the *author of the sublime and beautiful*. All which, that the reader may be the better enabled to understand, it may not be amiss to premise——

That early in the year 1786, Colonel Vallancey published a volume of near six hundred pages 8vo. intitled *A Vindication of the ancient history of Ireland*; in the 2d page of which, after reprobating the translation of Keating, is the following paragraph:

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“ These

“ These blunders gave room to a modern author
 “ (the writer of the *Southern Tour* in Ireland) to
 “ observe, that the Irish historians jumped from the
 “ Baltic to the Nile, and from the Nile to the Baltic,
 “ as *easy* as a man steps over a gutter. He should
 “ have learned the language of the original before
 “ he had ventured to criticise.”

In regard to this paragraph it might be sufficient to remark, that I can find no passage in the *Southern Tour*, as it is here called, which has the most distant allusion to the assertion it contains. Not that I hold myself responsible for the sentiments or opinions of the author ; not even for the praises, by him lavished, on the learned Colonel Vallancey. The anonymous writer of that work publicly retracted some of its errors, and would, I am persuaded, feel no reluctance to retract others, which more plentiful reading and more mature reflection may have discovered. But, as it may be urged that some other work of that writer may have given occasion to the above cited paragraph, let us see how that matter stands.

In the year 1784 I put into the Colonel's hand two or three Sections of what I called *an analysis of the antiquity of Ireland*, neither published nor intended to be published in that form, but only meant as the foundation for a preliminary essay to that *history of the revolutions of Ireland* to which I have alluded above (pag. 1.) in which there is the following passage: “ *Let those who can partake of pleasure*
 “ *from the glory of the Gadelians ; but we shall*
 “ *not follow them in their travels from Egypt to*
 “ *Crete, from Crete to Scythia, from Scythia to*
 “ *Gothland, from Gothland to Spain, from Spain*
 “ *back to Scythia, from Scythia to Egypt, from*
 “ *Egypt to Thrace, from Thrace to Gothland, from*
 “ *Gothland to Spain, and from Spain to Ireland.*”
 Such is the passage, consisting principally of a citation from Keating, set down *verbatim*, which is so
 correctly

correctly quoted in the elegant *Vindication of the history of Ireland*; written, it is said, in answer to the above-mentioned ANALYSIS, by way of anticipation.

When the Colonel says that *I should have learned the language of the original before I had ventured to criticise*, I suppose he means before I had ventured to criticise the original, i. e. the Irish i. e. the most pure, perspicuous, and comprehensive dialect of the Celtic: for sure he cannot mean that I should learn *Irish*, before I venture to criticise the *English*; as I should then be precluded from a critical display of that elegance, purity, and correctness of diction which so eminently distinguish the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, and which may be seen in almost every paragraph, particularly in that very one which is so candidly imputed to the *writer of the Southern Tour*. If, by the Irish language, I could be cured of my native propensity to blundering, I should not yet think it too late to learn it, though my teachable disposition for words is nearly over; but I have known writers, and those voluminous ones too, who have so studied this paragon of speeches, that they seem to have forgot the *English*, their mother tongue, and not only write but think all in the *Irish* idiom.

However, without further preamble, we shall here give the letters, above announced, or extracts from them.

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.

To I E R N E U S.

S I R,

YOUR ingenious and learned sketch of the ecclesiastical and literary History of Ireland, has roused the attention of every lover of its genuine antiquities, who has long wished to see subjects, involving our national honour, placed on a solid and indisputable basis.

Irish antiquities have been, for centuries, not only held in contempt by every nation of Europe, but, unfortunately, our understanding has, at the same time, been degraded in the eyes of foreigners, for an easy credulity, and an implicit adoption of incredible fictions. Nor can it be denied, that our pertinacity, in still clinging to our mythological tales, gives strong indications of the want of civilization, and of the little progress criticism and sound learning have made among us.

It was reserved for you, Sir, to redeem our injured reputation, and to show, that there is one *Hibernian* whose mind is as superior to the general delusion, as his talents and erudition are superior to the antiquarian scriblers of the present day. From the latent treasures of our antient lore, you have elicited much curious and valuable matter, and
thereby

thereby incontestibly evinced, that Irish antiquities, judiciously selected, are by no means a barren subject, but teeming with rich and useful information.

Your excellent sketch has, moreover, appeared at the moment when most wanted; when the various lucubrations of certain writers are daily subverting the foundations of our history and literature, and erecting on their ruins a fantastic edifice of etymological scraps.

Fascinated by the wild systems of Bochart, Sammes and Stukely, and endeavouring to rival the absurd whimsies of Pezron, Bryant and Gebelin, one author has certainly formed such a tissue of Hiberno-Oriental adventures as never before appeared upon paper; nor would Locke, was he now living, believe such a strange perversion of ideas could exist in the human *pericranium*.

Thus Ossian, whose history you have admirably disembarassed, Col. Vallancey, in his 12th Collectanea, makes a forcerer, and the father of diviners; and this for no other reason but because *Afa*, in Chaldee, signifies an old man, or a wiseman. What a pity is it, that wisdom is not infectious! How many then might preserve the credit of their understanding, and their studies! Horace has long since told us:

—————*Sapientia prima*
Stultitia carusse.—————

Again, to display our author's acquaintance with oriental lexicons and vocabularies, is the description of the Temorian Court, brought forward in the last-cited Collectanea; for he enters into no detail of our architecture, which he formerly made true Etruscan, but relinquishes the notion in his Vindication, page 462. He thinks it infinitely more honourable to tell us, from Richardson's Arabic Dictionary, that
Taamur

Taamur is a tower, and Tekht, a house, with such a number of crude and imperfect resemblances of Celtic and Eastern words, as would induce us to think he was jesting, had he not given, in many numerous publications, such lamentable proofs of his being in earnest. He might have known, from a cursory inspection of the place, or of the history of the country, (of whose antient language he affects to be sole arbiter) that neither palace, castle, nor dwelling house, of lime and stone, was erected, either at Tara, or any other part of the kingdom, for several centuries after the date of that fantastical palace *formed or constructed on three towers*; and whose eating parlour surpassed comprehension, till the art of the engraver gave it a *plate* and existence. But the face of nature, and the possibility of things, must yield to bardic tales, fictitious authorities, and oriental etymologies.

Perfuadere cupit, credat Judæus appella.

Apropos of Judæus appella! How laughable forever it may appear, our author persuaded HEIDECK, a Jewish Rabbi, that an officer's common gorget, made about a century ago, was exactly the same as the High Priest's Urim and Thummim. In my next, I shall send you more of the literary vagaries of this author.

I am yours, &c.

O T H O.

For

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.

To IERNEUS.

SIR,

IN scrutinizing political measures or literary studies, politeness and decorum forbid personalities: you have conducted a long and interesting enquiry with the most perfect respect to individuals: nor shall I be less attentive, in the remarks I shall submit to you, to imitate so excellent an example.

From the happy progress of literature in this isle, the time cannot be far distant, when the fables of Keating, and the orientalizations (pardon the word) of the publisher of the *Collectanea* must sink into everlasting oblivion; and be succeeded by a rational and clear system of Irish history and antiquities: the many lights flung on these, in your elegant sketch, are no bad omens of this pleasing event.

In a late paper you have justly observed, that the most singular and striking remnant of antiquity among us, is the ROUND TOWER. A gentleman, who, it seems, formerly produced some pieces in the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, among others, attempted an investigation of the origin and use of these towers: But the publisher was resolved to give them a thorough elucidation, not so much on account of the curiosity of the subject, as thereby to exhibit

exhibit an amazing knowledge of oriental lexicographers; and to demonstrate how exactly *Eastern* and *Irish* history coincided.

Accordingly, in his 10th number, he insinuates that *Nemedius* the *Scythian* brought a Druid with him into this island; who taught the inhabitants the use of fire, and the construction of these towers. In the 12th number, the publisher says: *African* sea-champions were their founders; who drove the *Nemedians* out of Ireland, and built the round tower of *Torinis* in an island on the coast of Donegal. Here the last assertion contradicts what was before suggested; and Irish history is appealed to as the authority of the one and the other. However this is but a trifle to what follows.

In page 482 of this number, we are informed, these towers got their name from their figure; and that they were made round in allusion to sacred circular dances: that the Irish druids observed the revolutions of the year, festivals, &c. by dancing round these round towers. All this information depends on the Syriac word *Cheigal*, a circuit. And lest any twittering swallow should reprobate the frequency and volatinity of such holy salutations, Exodus and the Psalms are alledged for patterns of such among the Jews.

By the time our author has advanced, five or six pages, he totally forgets what he before said, and seriously tells us—"it is rather more than conjecture, that our Irish round towers were buildings from whence the approaching festivals were announced."

In his vindication of the ancient history of Ireland, which more properly might be called its perversion, the *Medes* are made the first that constituted round towers: so he expresses it. And in page 469, they are temples of the *Persian Magi*, and they were called *clog* or *cluice*, from *cluicam* to assemble.

After

After this review of a single topic of Irish antiquities, we may say of the rest——*ex pede, Herculem*, and without difficulty anticipate the information to be expected from the *Collectanea*.

When I contrast this work, composed of the gibberish of Babel, and bristled over with exotic forms of letters, with your judicious and learned performance, I feel for the honour of Ireland: nor can I discover more effectual means of rendering her contemptible in the eyes of the ignorant, as well as learned, than a continuation of the *Collectanea*, and the miserable farrago of which it is made up.

Is it any wonder our author should complain that his labours are slighted, and should ask——*Quis legit hæc? nemo, hercule nemo, vel duo vel nemo.* Or that but 200 copies or a few more, are sold of each number. It is not the want of curiosity, as he supposes, that is the cause of this neglect, but the absurd attempt to excite and gratify it. Let them follow you, with many eminent French and English antiquaries, in selection and illustration, and an ample sale will gratify his ambition, and other wishes, and perhaps extort, at length, his thanks to

Yours, &c.

O T H O.

For

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.

VERITAS's 5th Letter to IERNEUS.

S I R,

INOW proceed to the 10th Number of the Collectanea, in which the author, in the preface, endeavours to derive the ancient inhabitants of Ireland from the East, and in particular from the wilds of *Tartary*; for which assertions he quotes from page 6th to 12th, Mr. Richardson's *Persic and Arabic Dictionary*, and then collates the Irish with the *Persic* and *Arabic* languages, which have not the least resemblance to the *Irish*, and a number of Irish words have received significations which they evidently never had among the natives.

The author then proceeds, from the 71st to the 126th page of this Number, to give a translation of several articles relative to the ancient Brehon-laws, from a fragment in Trinity-College. Here I am extremely happy to assert, that the author has done considerable service to the antiquities of Ireland, and credit to himself. And if he had continued thus to give the public faithful translations of such Irish MSS. that relate to the history, laws and antiquities of the kingdom, instead of those absurd and fanciful systems, with which his works abound, he would have deserved much respect from his country.

The

The Brehon-laws, however, given in this number, are not very ancient: their language cannot be older than the 14th century.

In page 193, the author gives a short dissertation on the Round Towers of Ireland, from some buildings of that kind lately discovered at *Bulgari*, by some French gentlemen on their travels. The author, in several parts of his writings, has derived the origin of the Round Towers found in Ireland, from the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, *Persians* and *Scythians*, and asserts, they were *Pyrathias* or Fire-Temples, and observatories of the *Druids*, in support of which hypothesis, he has brought several inconclusive evidences in No. 12, p. 492 and 513.—But the Round Tower of *Bulgari*, must have been a *Pyrathia*; for he says, No. 10, p. 195, “It is to be observed, the name given to these Towers is *misgir* or *midsgir*, a word I translate *fire-circle* or *fire-tower*.” The learned antiquary may, if he pleases, translate it so, though it has no such signification in any language I have read. *Misgir*, *Midsgir* and *Masgiad* in Arabic, and *Misgab*, in Hebrew, signify a castle, fortress or place of worship, and *Gadal Misgab* is the tower of the castle or fortress. And the authors, who describe that at *Bulgari*, say, that it is surrounded by a wall, which appears to have been a fortress. This tower and others of the same kind, found in those countries, are the watch or signal towers of the Arabs or Saracens to their castles, as the learned antiquary might have supposed, by the modern Arabic inscription in the inside of that of *Bulgari*. On the settlement of those people in the south and west of Europe, they constantly used such buildings to their castles, and one was actually built by the Spaniards as a Signal Tower to their fortresses of the Mora near Havannah in the Isle of Cuba, which was beat down by the English Artillery in 1762.—

The

The Christian clergy used them during the middle ages, for watch-towers and belfries to their places of worship, for which purpose they were introduced into Ireland by those monks who settled in this country, as their general Irish name *Cloghad* imports.

I now enter on the review, of as extraordinary a work, as ever proceeded from the pen of man ; the preface of the 12th number of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*. What the author intends, by this heterogeneous and desultory composition, is difficult to discover. Ridiculous etymologies, absurd fanciful positions, positive assertions, instead of argument, abound almost in every page; to correct them all, would require volumes, I shall only therefore remark some of the most conspicuous.

The author, in the former part of his works, having brought the ancient inhabitants of Ireland from *Spain, Phœnice* and *Carthage*, now endeavours to shew, that they were the descendants of the ancient *Scythæ* or *Pelasgi*, and what he before denominated *Hiberno-Celtic* and *Bearla-Phene*, he now calls *Pelasgian Irish*. Hence proceeding to page the 15th through legions of useless etymologies from the oriental tongues, the author brings *Diodorus* to prove, that *Phœnius*, mentioned in the Irish Romances and traditions, was a *Fear Saidh* or Sidonian man ; for the Irish word *Saidh*, which the author, in a number of places, has asserted to signify *wisdom*, is here made *Sidon* in *Palestine*. Such charlatannery in antiquities is really curious.

In page 42, *Berosus* is quoted, to corroborate his assertions concerning the *Pelasgi*. It is certainly proper to quote fabulous writers in support of fanciful systems ; true history would disgrace them, and they would disgrace true history.

In page 64 and 65, mention is made of the *Tuath Dadanan* of Ireland, and the *Dodonian* oracle
in

in Greece, which the author, in subsequent pages, endeavours to prove, was founded by *Irish* men or *Irish Druids*; whose ancestors, being descended from the Pelasgi, in whose country the Dodonian Oracle was, frequently visited their mother country. And in page 103 quotes the Irish history, to prove, that these *Dadanannai*, or Irish Druids, assisted the Athenians against the Assyrians; but the latter being defeated, the Hibernian magicians, being afraid of the Assyrians, on account of their magick, sailed back to Ireland. During their residence however in Greece, they taught the inhabitants most of those fables which the old Greek poets mention, which fables originated in Ireland. In proof of which the judicious antiquary produces an ancient Irish poem, beginning with

*Tuatha Dadananna sead suim. Ait abhfuadar
foghlaim, &c.*

referring to the original Irish and Colonel Vallancey's translation to page 106, No. 12, I shall only here give the literal translation, as near as the language will admit.

“ The purport of the Tuatha Da Danan, was in
 “ search of wisdom.—They made clear in flowing
 “ verse, the mysteries according to just rule.—From
 “ Fionn the holy prophets to Irin came the sons of
 “ poets, sons of song.—Whose sons Both and Cla-
 “ nor of Bothnian race, each under the direction
 “ of wise pilots, true champions, manifest wor-
 “ thies of great power, after much toil, after dangers
 “ great, gently sailed into *Loch-lun*.—Four cities of
 “ great note, received the troop into their acquaint-
 “ ance, inviting them to fellowship, on their wis-
 “ dom, being men of science.—Falias, and the hand-
 “ some Gorias, Finias, and Murias of great valour,
 “ which boasted much of warlike deeds, were the
 “ names of these great cities.—Morfios and the no-
 “ ble Earus, Ahras and the true enlightened Semias, of
 “ the

“ the household of king Garman, were the names of
 “ those enlightened nobles. Morfios the bard of no-
 “ ble Falias, Earus of Gorias the chief diviner.
 “ Semeas the lecturer of Murias remained, Abhras
 “ chief bard of Finias. Four gifts to them belong-
 “ ed, rewards to them the Tuatha Da Danans : A
 “ sword, a stone, a cup, a shield. The spear of war
 “ to noble champions, Lia-fail to Falia appertain-
 “ ed, diviner of Erin’s King’s. The sword on which
 “ they sware in hand, to excellent Gorias belonged.
 “ Finias extended like the marine wave, produced
 “ the never-failing spear. At Murias far extended
 “ plain, the great shield that poets sons obtained.”

I cannot think where the learned antiquary discovered Greece and Bceotia in this poem, nor has it any relation to Irish conjurors, going in search of Druidism from Ireland or Greece to establish academies in Etruria, as the author would make out. It is said to have been composed by Torne Eigis, chief bard to the O’Nials, in the 10th century, though neither the language nor versification, evinces it older than the 13th century. But by whom or in what period composed, it evidently relates to the Danes establishing bardic academies in Ireland, who are said to have come from *Fionn* or Norway to *Fail* or *Inis Fail* or Ireland. Some bard of the O’Nial family most probably composed it, in honour of their chief; the O’Nials always endeavouring to derive their descent from the northern people, and we find some of them settled in Ireland in the tenth century from the Icelandic annals. However the subject doth not seem to have originally belonged to Ireland, but to the Scaldic academies established in Shania and Sweden by Garman or Gurmo King of Denmark in the 8th century. A Scaldic poem on this subject is still in being in Norway and Iceland, beginning with

Ansteer

Ansteer londum for undann
 Alvaldur fa er gaf scaldum,
 Hann feck gagn at qunne
 Guntror da floy mergum
 Slydur tungur let slingra, &c.

“ From the eastern lands by the Danes, that noble
 “ art the gift of Scalds, to point out the way to
 “ wisdom, the learning of the marine race, in flow-
 “ ing verse, &c.”

Of this the Irish, is nearly a literal translation. Indeed most of the Irish poems and romances relative to the Milesians, Tuatha Danan, &c. which the historians and antiquaries of the latter periods have made the basis of the ancient Irish history, are taken from Scaldic poems, respecting the voyages and transactions of the Danes and Norwegian rovers, on the coasts of Barbary, Spain, France, Britain and Ireland, from the beginning of the 8th to the close of the 10th century. And however extraordinary it may appear, it is a certain truth, that there is at present remaining no Irish poem, from the language and versification of which, we can imagine to be older than the 13th or 14th centuries, nor any transaction recorded in them prior to the eighth.

Even the Welsh, notwithstanding their ancestors remained so long under the Roman government, have no poems or traditions relative to that period. The historical transactions mentioned by their oldest poet *Taliesin*, relate to the wars between the Britons and Saxons. From which circumstances we must acknowledge, that the transactions of ancient Irish history, not only before, but several years after, the establishment of Christianity in this island, except what are contained in the imperfect chronicles of the monks, and scraps from foreign writers, are totally buried in oblivion.

But Colonel Vallancey, by making the Tuatha Danann conjurors, and Baoth Boeotia, has purchased
 an

an exceeding fine hobby horfe, on which he mounts and trots off, in fearch of new adventures, and fortune foon furnifhed him with a remarkable one; for in page 110, the Scythian ambaffador *Abaris* fent to the Greeks, as mentioned by *Didorius Heme-merius*, is difcovered to be an Irifhman, and the very *Abbras, file fionn* of Finias, fent from Ireland, to Greece on a meffage. However, Herodotus, L. 3. 104, fays *Nam de fabula Abaris, qui fertur effe Hyperboreus, nihit dico*. But the father of hiftory, perhaps was not acquainted with the Irifh Druids.

One adventure generally leads to another; our learned antiquary has no fooner made the difcovery, that the Irifh Druids correfpond with and inftitute the ancient Greeks, than he finds they received their religion from *Persia* and the doctrine of *Zoroaftres*, and on that account corrects *Keating*, in p. 90, by afferting that *Keating* ftuck in *Greece*, inftead of *Persia*. The early part of *Keating's* hiftory is entirely compiled from Irifh romances, compofed from the 12th to the 14th centuries, in which the authors, as they became acquainted with general hiftory, introduced into their ftories, the tranfactions of different nations and periods, in order to give their relations the greater appearance of truth. Whatever attempts of this nature might have been made during the dawn of fcience, it is very extraordinary that any perfon in this enlightened age, fhould ever think of fuch impofitions.

VERITAS.

Extracts

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.*Extracts from* VERITAS's 3d Letter to
IERNEUS.

IN page 19 of preface to No. 12, the author says, that the Phœnicians must have been in Ireland, by reason that *Pheinne*, *Phanaidhe*, *Fianne* and *Feinne*, signifying in Irish, warriors, were names given by the ancient writers to the old Irish troops. However, fearful that this will not give sufficient strength to the argument, he asserts, p. 7, 15 and 20, that the Pelasgi, Hebrews and Phœnicians were of the same origin, and consequently all the ancient inhabitants of Europe, Egypt and Palestine were Phœnicians; an exceeding easy method of supporting any system: and as a proof of the assertion, produces in page 20, the Irish words *Phaoín-bleagan* or *Faoín-bleasgan* or *pleasgan*, which, he says, signify heroes, and conquerors, and comprehends all the derivations given to the Pelasgi, by the authors of the Universal History. *Phaoín* or *Paoín* certainly signifies a warrior or soldier in Irish, and *bleagan* or *bleasgan* a weapon, a club, and is the root of the modern English bludgeon; it also signifies victory, as the ancient warriors originally fought or conquered with clubs; whence *Phaoín-bleagan* or *Faoín-bleasgan* signifies literally the *Warrior's Club*, or *Warrior's victory*, figuratively conquerors, and has not the least relation to any particular people upon earth.

T

In

In a note to page 36 and 70, “ The ancient Irish
 “ *Seanchas* say, that Gan, Geanan, Conuing and
 “ Faovar, were African Generals, who drove the
 “ Nemedians out of Ireland. That they first settled
 “ at *Toirinis*, which was called *Tor Conuing* or the
 “ tower of Conuing, from the tower he built here;
 “ this is the first round tower mentioned in Irish
 “ history.” I cannot imagine how the learned anti-
 quary finds here, either Phœnicians or round Towers.
Tor, Toir, Tore, Tura and *Tur*, do indeed signify in
 the Irish and ancient Celtic Tongues a Tower; they
 also signify any round hill, or any round elevated
 substance, a cape or headland, any round inclosed
 place, an island or place surrounded by water, a
 circular dun or rath; whence *Toirinis* is the present
 island of Tor or Innis Tur on the western coast of
 the county Donegal. *Conuing* has not an Irish ter-
 mination, but is evidently the same as *Gan, Geanan*
 which signify a cape or promontary on the sea or
 water, from *Gan, Gean, Can, Con*, a cape, whence
Tor Conuing doth not signify the Tower of Conuing
 but the promontory of the island of Tor, and has
 not the least relation to either round Towers or
 Phœnicians. This story of the *Seanchas*, evidently
 a modern fiction, is one among a thousand instan-
 ces of the Irish Bards and Monks personifying
 islands, capes, rivers and districts during the first
 centuries of the middle age, which our oriental
 antiquary has not attended to.

Of this species of romance is, probably, the
 story of the Fomoraigh Afraic, if it doth not re-
 late to some of the expeditions of the Danes during
 the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, who frequently
 traded to the south of Europe and the Mediterra-
 nean sea.

In a note to page 70 of the preface, No. 12, the
 author says, “ The old name of the Giants Cause-
 “ way in the North of Ireland, is *Cloch na Fomaraic*,
 “ or the stone of the Carthaginians.” Surely the
 learned

learned Antiquary cannot be serious, in making this assertion; *Fomaraic* may signify sea commanders, but it also signifies a giant or great person, from *Fo* a prince, *mor* great, *raic* strong, mighty; whence *Fomaraic* or *Fomorraig* signifies the strong and mighty Prince or Giant, and *Cloch na Fomaraic* the Giant's Stone or Causeway; and has no more relation to the Carthaginians, than to the inhabitants of China. —But, says the author, page 95, the Giant's Causeway is called in Irish *Bin-guthar*, but *Binguthar* does not literally signify the Giant's Causeway, but the Giant's Cape or Promontory, or rather the sacred or admirable Promontory from *Guthar*, *Gaur*, *Goor*, a Druid, Prophet, sacred or admirable Person or Thing, and *Bin*, *Ben*, a Cape or Headland.

But the Carthaginians must have a settlement in the British islands; for in page 115, speaking of the navy of the Lacedæmonians, the author says, “What idea can we form of their marine in that age, about 430 years before Christ, when compared with the Carthaginians, who, in the time of Ezekiel the prophet, (590 years before Christ) supplied Tyre with tin and lead from the British islands.” In proof of this assertion, we are referred to Ezekiel, c. 27 and 28. What Edition the learned author made use of, I do not know; but in the English translation of the Bible and the common Hebrew copies, no such things are to be found; the chapters referred to, indeed describe the commerce of the Tyrians with the islands of the Mediterranean, but not a word is said of either the Carthaginians, tin, lead, or the British islands.

In No. 5. *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, another evidence in support of this system is brought from the words *Fene*, *Feine*, *Feineag*, *Feinig*, and *Fionn*, though the author himself acknowledges in page 57, that these words in the Irish language signify only

a Warrior, great Person, or Giant. They really have the signification, not only in Irish, but through the different dialects of the Celtic tongue, and have no relation whatever either to the Phœnicians or Carthaginians, yet the learned antiquary says, page 61, “The huge piles of stones, erected from time immemorial, in several parts of Ireland, have the generical name of *Leabana na Feine*; the words plainly signify, the beds of the Phœni or Carthaginians;” though according to the author’s own interpretation in a few pages before, they signify only the beds or graves of the Warriors, their true origin; yet every thing is made Carthaginian, not only the piles of stones found in different parts of the island, but the Tumulus of New Grange is termed a Phœnician monument, but for what reason I know not, for no such monuments of antiquity as those of Ireland, are to be found in Africa, Tunis, nor in the country where Carthage was situated; neither in Egypt or Palestine about Tyre the original seat of the Phœnicians; but numbers are discovered in Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and the Asiatic Tartary; a convincing proof that these ancient remnants of former times, are not the works of either the Phœnicians or Carthaginians.

For the author made use of I do not know; but in the English translation of the Bible and the common Hebrew copies, no such things are to be found. The chapters referred to, indeed describe the countries of the Tyrians with the islands of the Mediterranean, but not a word is said of either the Carthaginians, the lead of the British islands, or any other. In No. 5. Collection de vers de Hibernia, another evidence in support of this system is brought from the words *Leabana na Feine*, *Feine*, and *Leabana*, which the author himself acknowledges in page 57, that these words in the Irish language signify only a Warrior.

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.

To I E R N E U S.

AFTER carefully examining the writings of Mr. O'Connor on Irish antiquities, I find him as exceptionable on them, as you have discovered him to be on politics. When his dissertations first appeared, the public were in possession of nothing better than the monstrous fictions of Keating, O'Flaherty and Macurtin: his performance affected more moderation: was written in no bad style, and with a shew of candour: but as for solid information, that is looked for in vain. To mark all his defects, and point out where *verbiage* is substituted for argument and fact, would far exceed the bounds of this letter. A few must therefore suffice.

1. Would any man of the smallest antiquarian knowledge assert, that the present Bethluisnon or Irish elements are of Asiatic origin, or indulge in the most bombastic encomiums on them, if he had previously looked over the alphabets of other nations? Certainly not. Even a partial enquiry would have convinced him, that the Bethluisnon and Anglo-Saxon letters are identically the same. Must he not, therefore, blush, when he compares, the third section of his dissertations with the 21st and 242d pages of

Ogygia

Ogygia vindicated, where these wonderful Phœnician letters are derived from their genuine source, the corrupt Roman of the 5th century.

2. Much entertainment was to be expected from his sixth section on the arts and sciences of the ancient Irish. But how miserably disappointed are we? In the place of poems of antiquity and merit, in the original, we are put off with the jargon of concords, correspondencies and unions from Molloy's Irish grammar. Biographical anecdotes of our bards and specimens of their composition would have been amusing, but nothing like these are to be found. The music of the Irish is flurred over in the same trifling manner; obviously betraying the ignorance of the writer, or his want of materials. Of the former he was guilty, and that when it might be avoided; and as proof I need but mention the very ingenious Mr. Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish bards: a work that does honour to the genius and abilities of the author.

3. Much is written by Mr. O'Connor of the architecture, dress, arms, &c. of the old Irish: surely it should have occurred to him, that drawings of these (and they were procurable) would illustrate better than any description he could give. I am sorry to be able to give one decisive proof of Mr. O'Connor's total unfitness to communicate information on these subjects. In page 81 of his dissertations, he tells us, the Irish Dun was a sort of temporary habitations, made up with thick ditches of earth, impaled with wooden stakes and surrounded with a deep trench. On the contrary, a Dun in Ireland, (and also in Scotland, as appears by Pennant's Tour) was an insulated rock, rendered as precipitous as possible on all sides, and the approaches defended by ditches. Mr. O'Connor's Dun is the common Irish moat or rath.

His fourth section treats of the ancient political Government of the Irish: a subject highly curious and interesting,

interesting, if it had been detailed with that extent, minuteness and accuracy which it so well deserved. Instead of this, we are offered nothing but panegyrics on princes' who never existed, and a constitution equally imaginary. An exact transcript of an old *Brehon* roll would have afforded more pleasure and real information, than fifty pages of the frothy stuff contained in two sections. Infinitely more may be learned of the constitution and internal regulations of the Irish from Davis's relation and reports, than from him.

Some of our author's political errors you have corrected with spirit and judgment, but many more, and of considerable magnitude, remain for future castigation.

When Mr. O'Connor became the satellite of the editor of the *Collectanea*, he degraded his genius and accomplishments, though nothing but *his* name could induce the public to purchase that work. He was the editor's *decus et tutamen*; yet even these well-written essays will not save him from the oblivion which begins to envelope him. You, *Ierneus*, seem designed by fate to draw that curtain which will for ever close the catastrophe of such writers. I shall not apologize for the following admirable epigram of Martial, applicable to these authors, as the conclusion is to you:

Qui legis Oedipodem, caligantemque Thyestem,
Colchidas & Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis?

Quid te vana juvant miseræ ludibria chartæ?

Hoc lege, quod possis dicere jure, meum est.

OTHO.

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.

To IERNEUS.

SIR,

MR. O'Connor commences his second letter, with another short attack upon Mr. Whitaker and Richard of Cirencester, from whence he obliquely adverts to some papers in the *Collectanea*; but as he has not thought proper to specify in particular the subjects, no notice can be taken of that article. In page 650, he recurs to the old Irish MSS. and asserts the competency of them, "in
"affording some useful information, which we
"should otherwise never obtain." And hopes the truth will soon be discovered, "whether the Pagans
"of Ireland had a local literature and civilization,
"improved by time, in their long repose from foreign interruption, or whether they had been the
"rudest, as they were the most sequestered barbarians in Europe." I hope so too, but this truth must certainly be discovered, by a pen widely different from that of Mr. O'Connor. He, however, judiciously observes, in page 650, and 651, that
"mythological and poetical compositions of ancient times, have involved the earliest accounts of
"nations in the greatest obscurity: and that the
"elements of arts once imported into remote and
"detached countries, might, by a number of contingent circumstances, be entirely obliterated, and
"the

“the inhabitants be again reduced to their original
 “savage life.” But according to this learned his-
 torian, this was not the case with Ireland; the an-
 cient inhabitants remaining in a free and unconquer-
 ed state until the arrival of the English, had never
 lost the elements imported by their Spanish or Cel-
 tiberian ancestors. This may be true, but to use
 the author’s own method of confutation, *Where is the
 proof?* At least the assertion stands in contradiction
 to those of Keating, M’Curtin and others, who re-
 late that the ancient Irish were first conquered by
 African pirates or seamen; then, by the Milesians
 from Spain; and lastly by the Danes. But in order
 to make the Irish a learned people, the author asserts,
 that, “the Irish and Greeks were of the same origin,”
 and consequently proves the early introduction of
 literature into the Britannic Isles by the Phœnici-
 ans. Here is not only vague assertions, without the
 least shadow of proof! but false consequences drawn
 therefrom.—Why should the Phœnicians introduce
 literature into these Islands, in consequence of the
 Irish being of Greek origin?—Yet Mr. O’Conor
 says, that “the Irish being derived from the Greeks,
 “proves the early introduction of the elements of
 “arts and literature into the Britannic isles;” such
 flimsy declamation does not deserve the least serious
 confutation; however the author himself has thought
 proper to confute it in page 652, where he asserts
 that the Greeks knew little of Ireland, and the Ro-
 mans nothing, but by the battles fought between
 them in Britain. Here are contradictory assertions,
 equally groundless, in which the Irish are made to
 be acquainted with the traditions and literature of
 the Greeks; but the Greeks are to know nothing
 of the Irish. Respect is now paid, in page 653, to
 Ossian and those writers who have been hardy enough
 to assert, that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland
 were ignorant of literature, prior to the introducti-
 on of Christianity; for (page 654) “the fragments
 “left

“ left us by the old natives—are abstracts from the
 “ larger works which escaped the Norman combus-
 “ tion, which raged in Ireland through the latter
 “ part of the eighth century. On the repulsion of
 “ the northern barbarians, some, only, of our great
 “ men sat down to collect as much as possible of
 “ our historical wreck. Cormac King and Archbi-
 “ shop of Cashel, began a compilation at Cashel in
 “ the ninth century ; and he complains of the ne-
 “ glect of his countrymen at the time, relative to the
 “ history of their ancestors: *Imprudens gens Scoto-*
 “ *rum* (says he) *rerum suarum obliviscens ; acta eorum*
 “ *quasi inaudita sunt.* The rebuke had its effect.
 “ The example of that Prince set other compilers
 “ to work, and the check given to the common hea-
 “ then enemy, afforded leisure and patronage for
 “ the undertaking. Pity it is, that they confined
 “ themselves to epitomes,—but to the labours of
 “ these epitomizers we owe the preservation of our
 “ earliest traditions ; the Scytho-Celtic or Celtibe-
 “ rian origin of the ancient Scots, and their inter-
 “ courses with the orientals before their arrival in
 “ Ireland.”—Unfortunately for Mr. O’Conor, these
 assertions are not only incorrectly stated, but effectually militate against what he would advance, relative to the authenticity of the early part of the old Irish documents, and corroborates the assertions of M’Curtin, that in the 6th century, the ancient bards had neglected every species of historic composition ; nor do they appear to have applied themselves to that study, from the above period to the time of Cormac, for Sir James Ware could not obtain information of any authentic historic writing which derived its origin from this period. Cormac most probably collected the scattered traditions then remaining in the old compositions of the bards, in conformity to the fashion of the times, not only in Britain but on the continent ; for about the middle of the 8th century, the European christian clergy first began

gan to turn their thoughts to the history and antiquities of their respective countries, to compose which, traditions were obtained from the old poems of the bards, reduced to the form of old chronicles and epitomes, in which species of composition, they were followed by the monks of after-ages. Those of Ireland, in the process of time, became adulterated with the poetical works of the latter bards, in which Mr. O'Connor, page 655, justly observes, "truth
 " was mixed with the heroic and marvellous; so
 " that little dependence is to be had relative to the
 " affairs of Ireland prior to the 6th century;" as is fully confirmed by the old Irish documents, and Mr. O'Connor himself. Probably conscious of this self-confutation, the historian in speaking of the Scots (p. 655) says, "arts were yet in their infancy through all the regions of the West. It
 " was only in a course of a time, that local science
 " was improved, and that laws were framed and
 " promulgated in this Island. These improvements
 " were the work of the Fileas." Then recovering himself from the inadvertent blow in p. 668 asserts that "the Scuit or Scots from Spain had more
 " knowledge in arts than the other inhabitants;" but probably recollecting that Justin may be right in his assertion (L. 44. c. 2.) that "during the time
 " of the Punic War, the Spaniards were an uncultivated people, and led a savage life;" and fearing that this and several other quotations from ancient foreign history, might be brought against the learning and civilization of the Spanish Milesian Scots, asserts roundly (p. 659) "the Scots were a
 " self-civilized people," thereby not only preventing all confusion from the collation of foreign documents, but flies in the face of all true history and the natural circumstances of things.

In page 663. "When Cæsar invaded Britain (says Mr. O'Connor) "Ireland was peopled by Scots, Belgians, Damnonians, Danans and Galenians."

Yet

Yet this is the very assertion for which he (page 23) in his former letter condemns Mr. Whitaker and Richard of Cirencester for asserting, that the ancient Irish consisted of Belgians, Brigantes and Scots, the former occupying the maritime parts, and the latter the interior. But these writers must be reprobated, let the consequence be what it will, in order to confute Mr. Ledwich and Mr. Beauford, who had adopted the opinions of those antiquaries, as founded on truth and the nature of ancient history; and which certainly agree with the old Irish chronicles; according, at least, to Mr. O'Connor, who in the same page says, that the Clan-Breogain, and Kine-Scuit, that is the Brigantes and Scots, (descended from the same stock) were then the dominant people in Ireland. However Richard and Mr. O'Connor, in some particulars, differ respecting the origin of those people: the former derives them from the Belgians and Brigantines in Britain, and the latter, in page 658, from the Braga and Medobriga in Spain; which, according to him, were of the same Celtic stock with the other roving Brigantines of Europe.

Both assertions appear to be founded upon the old but erroneous opinion, that the ancient European colonies, on their establishment in a new country, gave it the same denomination as that which they had quitted. Nothing of this kind appears on carefully examining ancient history. The Greeks certainly did not, on planting colonies, nor the Romans in any part of their conquests; neither was it adopted by the barbarous Goths and Vandals on their settlement in the South; and even the Anglo-Saxons, on taking possession of Britain, denominated none of the districts in that island after those they had left in Germany; but on the contrary, called them either from their position in respect to each other, or the nature of their soil, agreeable to the invariable custom of all nations of antiquity.

Amongst

Amongst a number of futile testimonies, brought in support of dogmatic positions, relative to the learning, civilization and arrival of the Scots and old Irish from Spain, Mr. O'Connor produces the following as almost conclusive (page 659) "Eogan
 " the great king of Munster, exiled from his coun-
 " try by the Heremonii about the close of the se-
 " cond century, took refuge under a Spanish Prince
 " of Gallicia, who received him with great sym-
 " pathy, and gave him his sister in marriage, also
 " a number of forces to obtain repossession of his
 " former Government."—As this story is related in Collectanea, No. 4, and brought, in No. 12, in support of the Spanish descent in Ireland; I shall more fully examine it here, than perhaps it merits. The whole story has certainly the air of modern invention, but admitting it all the authenticity that these gentlemen can desire, it does not advance one step towards the support of the subject in question.

During the commerce of the Massilian, Iberian and Gallic merchants to Britain and Ireland, we may reasonably imagine, the chiefs of Ireland frequently visited those countries through curiosity, without being in any manner descended from any of them. Besides, if the circumstance is of the antiquity ascribed, *Espane*, must have been originally written *Easbane* or *Eisban*, which words signify a shipman or navigator, and a maritime country or beyond sea, in which sense it stands in several old Saxon poems and chronicles. *Espane*, therefore, may signify either Spain, Gaul, Britain or any other foreign country. And in the fragment of an Irish poem, now before me, respecting this circumstance of the King of Munster, no mention whatever is made of Spain; but Eogan is said to have fled to *Eamhoin*. Now what country that was, we are not informed: but Eamania was the palace of the Kings of Ulster, which Mr. Conor calls *sumptuous*, and "the chief instance, next to *Teamor*, which

“ which the Scots can produce of *Architectonical*
 “ magnificence.” However, the Poem is evidently
 the origin of the Erse Ballad, from whence Mr.
 M’Pherson, in his *Temora*, has taken the story of
 Cathmor, going to Inisona, and marrying Sulmalla
 the daughter of a Chief of that country.

Mr. O’Conor, in page 667, says, “ I made little
 “ account of what the Fileas and Bards have left us
 “ on the first discoverers of this island.” Yet be-
 fore, in page 655, asserts, that “ all knowledge and
 “ improvement was the work of the Fileas,” con-
 sequently to reject their assertions, is effectually
 to destroy the authenticity of the ancient part
 of the Irish documents, so much boasted of.—
 Conscious that the transactions relative to the early
 part of the Irish History, mentioned in the compila-
 tions of Glendaloch, Ballymote, Book of Lecan, &c.
 cannot be supported either by foreign History or the
 Poems of the Bards yet remaining, he found it ne-
 cessary to endeavour to discredit these compositions,
 that the latter heterogenous compilations might have
 the greater appearance of originality: and originals
 they certainly are; but such, whenever they make
 their appearance before the public eye, will cer-
 tainly lose all their obscure dignity; and, like the
 mountain in labour, produce a mouse. Though
 Mr. O’Conor, with peculiar modesty, condemns and
 censures every writer of history and antiquities, who
 doth not pay these treasures of learning, the most
 unbounded deference; it is scarcely exaggeration to
 make him say—“ away with your Ushers, your
 “ Wares, and your Stillingfleets! Mr. M’Pherson
 “ was a lying knave, and Gibbon a credulous fool
 “ to believe him. As to Whitaker, I hope he will
 “ be forgiven, because he has repented. But what
 “ salvation can those recreants, *Ledwich* and *Beau-*
 “ *ford*, expect, who sin against the *Brehon* law,
 “ even that law, written in the *Collectanea*? Will
 “ you not believe in the author of that work, the
 “ Colonel

“ Colonel himself? Has he not said it? *ipse dixit*.
 “ Do as I do! *credo quia impossibile*. And hear me,
 “ ye historians and antiquaries, ye *Literati* of Eu-
 “ rope, or rather hear him, for he has published it
 “ at Paris, Ireland is now possessed of the *Liber*
 “ *Lecanus*, therefore what remains with you is
 “ dross; destroy your libraries in one consuming
 “ flame, and repair to Hibernia, where sleeping in
 “ the dusty corners of libraries, you will find on dirty
 “ and mutilated skins of parchment, compiled from
 “ the imperfect Chronicles of obscure Monks, and
 “ poetic fictions of wandring Bards, by self-taught an-
 “ tiquaries residing in mills and cabins on the con-
 “ fines of bogs, woods and lakes; the only authen-
 “ tic information relative to history, antiquities and
 “ philosophy.”

However, if this gentleman had advanced no-
 thing in his desultory and contradictory letter, but
 what was actually contained in the old Irish MSS.
 he would have been, in some measure, excusable;
 but frequently he not only contradicts foreign his-
 tory, but makes assertions not to be found in the
 Irish Annals; thus in pages 656, 664 and 668, in
 speaking of the civil wars between the Scots and
 Bolgæ, he has made them distinct tribes of a diffe-
 rent race; that is, Scots from Spain, and Belgians
 from Britain; whereas from the tenor of Keating
 and others, it is evident, that this commotion was
 between the Bolgæ, viz. Herdsmen or Commons,
 and the Milesians or Noblesse, from the oppressions
 which the former suffered from the latter, they both
 being actually Scots of the same origin.

A number of other instances in this letter, might
 also be produced, in which the ancient Irish History
 is equally misrepresented, and the facts not truly
 stated; but I shall not take up the reader's time with
 their refutation, hoping to find more candour and
 historical knowledge in the third letter.

Mr.

Mr. O'Connor in this letter, published in the 13th Number of the Collectanea, begins with once more abusing all who have not paid implicit obedience to the Irish MSS. where, page 108, he says "who on the present subject, published little else, besides their ignorance and confidence." It is somewhat remarkable, that this gentleman should so strenuously condemn others, for what he is most guilty of himself.

The author then proceeds to page 109, where he says: "Many sensible men cannot conceive, how a nation of islanders, cut off for many ages, from intellectual intercourses with Greece and Rome, could antecedently to the reception of Christianity, transmit any historical memorials of themselves, while the other northern nations transmitted none."—And he might have added *all sensible men*, if this had really been the case; but, unfortunately for Mr. O'Connor, the reverse is the truth; the ancient Saxons, Normans, Goths, Scandinavians and all other Northern nations, had a fabulous or imperfect history, contained in the Poems of their Bards, as well as Ireland; but have judiciously rejected them on the advancement of true learning; to the credit of their own understanding and the disgrace of that of Ireland.

However the author proceeds in his panegyric on the compositions of Colonel Vallancey, whose newly-borrowed system he appears to have adopted in deriving the Irish from the Eastern Scythians or Tartars; and with peculiar sagacity, traces their peregrinations from the Ægean Sea to Spain, and from thence to Ireland.

It is somewhat extraordinary that this writer should take the very few quotations, which he makes in support of his vague and unauthorised assertions, from the futile opinions of foreign writers, and not one from his old Irish documents, which he is so strenuous to defend; and from which he asserts, what

what he advances relative to the Irish History were taken.—He then descants, from page 115 to 126, on the ancient History of Ireland, respecting the arrival of the Scots from Spain, and their establishment in this island, in which they are asserted to have been a learned and an ignorant, a civilized and a barbarous race, alternately, according to the fancy of the writer. Some real transactions of history are indeed inserted, but intermixed with a number of fabulous stories of the latter writers, delivered as established historic truths, though too ridiculous for confutation; especially that of Hugony in page 126, who is said to have sailed to Gaul and from thence into the Mediterranean and Tyrrhean Seas; a “proof,” says the author, “that the people of Ireland had still
“intercourses with Spain and with the Carthaginians.” Thus doth this great historian and critic, justly produce fabulous stories in support of fanciful systems. The remaining part of this letter contains short sketches of historic transactions, but by no means accurately stated, and several grossly misrepresented; to confute each in particular would require volumes.

I am, Sir,

Your's,

VERITAS.

* * * *The Conductors of the Dublin Chronicle, entertaining high respect for the persons of Charles O'Connor, Esq; and Colonel Vallancey, whose names are so often, unavoidably, introduced into these letters; take this method of acquainting them, that the Chronicle shall be always open to them in answer to Ierneus, or to the letters inscribed to that ingenious Historian by Otho and Veritas.*

U

To

To the CONDUCTORS *of the* DUBLIN CHRONICLE:

GENTLEMEN,

FROM the very high respect you profess, in your paper of the 3d inst. for the persons of Mr. O'Connor, and of Colonel Vallancy, permit me to congratulate you on the safety of both these gentlemen, after the * *furia infernalis*, raised by the magic of Ierneus, Otho and Veritas, thundered out in your former papers, and which seems to have left us with the late hurricane.

That very high personal respect you have for these gentlemen, has induced you to offer them a place in your paper, if they will condescend to write in their defence——

Omnia Castor venit, sic fiet ut omnia vendat.

But, pray, gentlemen, where was your very high personal respect for these learned authors, when you admitted these illiberal and scurrilous letters of Otho, and

* The *furia infernalis*, is a swarm of minute maggots or worms, which sometimes fall in a storm, on the exposed parts of the body, in Finland, Swedeland and other northern climates; they instantly penetrate the skin, and sometimes cause sudden death. The celebrated Linnæus had now fallen a sacrifice to this obnoxious storm. The Finns think it is raised by magick. See Pultney *da miraculis insectorum*.

and the ludicrous wit of Veritas, on so serious a subject, to the astonishment of many admirers of your very entertaining paper?

I have the pleasure of being intimate with both gentlemen attacked, and after considering and weighing all that has been said against their writings, by Ierneus, Otho and Veritas, I am not ashamed to confess, that I am still of their opinion, respecting the ancient inhabitants of this island.

To Ierneus, who so artfully has interwoven the ancient with the modern Ireland, to deceive his readers, my friends will certainly reply, as soon as health permits the one, or leisure the other: but as to Otho and Veritas, the impartiality of the public will close the account between them. Decency of expression was at least due to a man, who as Meho says of Alberti, *bonis et studiosis viris fuit commendatus, principibusque non paucis acceptissimus*. To reply to these authors, would be like giving a serious answer to a modern Scotch author, (Pinkerton) who avers that a man must be mad, who asserts that a *Druid* ever existed in Ireland.

The commission of the Royal Irish Academy, by the Colonel, to recover the *Liber Lecanus* from the Irish College in Paris, could not escape the low irony of Veritas. To my knowledge, a fair copy of that MS. was made for the Colonel, above ten years ago, by one Conery, afterwards parish-priest of Cloyne, and he has made good use of the contents in his publications. The original had been stolen from Trinity College, near a century ago, and it was a laudable step in the academy to recover it: but, if this transaction did even appear in the Paris prints, I can answer, that it was without the Colonel's knowledge or consent. His collation of the Punic speech in Plautus, with the old Irish, and many other valuable passages in the *Collectanea* have indeed been translated

into French, Italian and many other foreign languages; and the learned Academies abroad, have done due honour to the author.

The language of a people is the touchstone of their origin: this is allowed by all learned men. The Colonel proved by a thousand examples, that the Irish abounded in Hebrew and Arabic terms, not to be found in the Cummaracy of the Welch, or any other Celtic nation: that, not only the names of the arts, but those of the materials, and utensils used therein, were pure oriental, unknown to other northern nations: “quæ post linguam Ebræam proxime in censum venire debet, Scythica est,” says the learned Bishop Ihre, who was well skilled in the Northern and Oriental dialects—yet this part of the Colonel’s labours is called a jargon, by his opponents, and such probably it will ever be to Otho and Veritas; but it appears in a very different light, to men of letters.

To shew you, gentlemen, and your readers, that I am not singular in opinion; by permission of the Colonel, I send you the copy of a letter from the author of the *Sublime and Beautiful*, and here shall close my present observations.

CANDID.

Summer-hill, 7th April, 1788.

(COPY.)

(C O P Y.)

To COLONEL VALLANCEY.

DEAR SIR,

“ I HAD a serious loss in not seeing you during
 “ my short stay in Ireland. My time indeed was
 “ so very limited, and so very much engaged, that I
 “ could not indulge myself in the pleasure of pay-
 “ ing my respects to you at Milltown. I was ob-
 “ liged to make amends for the loss of your con-
 “ versation, by your book ; for which I give you
 “ my best thanks. It is indeed a work of uncom-
 “ mon sagacity and erudition, and as entertaining
 “ as it is instructive. I often thought I was reading
 “ WARBURTON. Your industry, in collecting such
 “ a body of matter, does you great credit ; and,
 “ by the variety of new relations you have disco-
 “ vered, and the new combinations you have made,
 “ and what you have brought from the remotest
 “ quarters to bear naturally on your subject, have
 “ given the true distinctive character of genius to
 “ the work. This is as much as I am qualified to
 “ say. Whether your system is fully established, is
 “ beyond my decision. I know, that for the first
 “ time, you have interwoven and connected, in a
 “ manner not easy to be hereafter separated, the Irish
 “ antiquities, with those of the polite and learned
 “ nations,

“ nations, which are not a whit less uncertain than
 “ those of their new ally. By shewing their con-
 “ formity and connexion, you perhaps give some
 “ better authority to both, than either were before
 “ possessed of. Your system of solving many dif-
 “ ficulties by the disposition of colonies, to apply
 “ the events and personages of their antient country
 “ to their new settlement, is very ingenious; and
 “ when supported by strong analogies of fact, very
 “ probable. However, we must not forget, that in
 “ this system, we set out by admitting one of the
 “ fundamental parts of the story to be enfeebled by
 “ the fabulous and the forged, so far as it is laid in
 “ the local particulars. We are on this system ob-
 “ liged to establish the credit of our witness, by
 “ falsifying the circumstances of his testimony; and
 “ to prove, that the things are true in some respects,
 “ though the relater meant to deceive in others.
 “ As told of Ireland—the beginning of its ancient
 “ history, for which we are obliged to Keating,
 “ must be given up. This may still leave some
 “ shadow of doubt, even in a mind such as mine,
 “ which in all matters of interesting research, does
 “ certainly not wish to be disappointed. But
 “ whether we readers can ever assure ourselves
 “ perfectly, that we shall arrive at the proposed end
 “ of our journey, we have all reason in the world
 “ to be pleased with the guide and the compa-
 “ nion.

“ Will you have the goodness to pardon me for
 “ reminding you of what I once before took the
 “ liberty to mention; my earnest wish that some of
 “ the ancient Irish Historical Monuments should be
 “ published as they stand, with a translation in
 “ Latin or English. Until something of this kind
 “ is done, criticism can have no secure anchorage.
 “ How should we be enabled to judge of histories,
 “ or historical discussions on English affairs, where
 “ references were had to Bede, to the Saxon
 “ Chronicle,

“ Chronicle, to Affer, to Ingulphus, and the rest,
 “ whilst these authors lurked in libraries, or what is
 “ worse, lay in the hands of individuals? If nothing
 “ else could be done, I should wish to see complete,
 “ that remaining morsel of the Brehon-Laws, in Sir
 “ John Seabright’s manuscripts. You have pub-
 “ lished enough as a specimen to excite curiosity,
 “ and the world has given credit to your labours;
 “ we are petitioners for the whole, to the bounty
 “ which has given us a part. There is no doubt
 “ of a subscription sufficient to defray the expence.
 “ I assure you that when I borrowed those books
 “ upwards of twenty years since, and had first leave
 “ to transmit them to Ireland, I did it with an hope
 “ and view that something of the kind which I re-
 “ commended should be done, if any person could
 “ be found of ability to do it; that ability has been
 “ found, but if any accident should happen to you
 “ and Mr. O’Conor, what security have we that any
 “ others, like you, should start up?
 “ You will have the condescension to give me
 “ the pardon, I once more request, for the liberty
 “ I take in proposing trouble to you, which nothing
 “ but the high honour and esteem I have for you,
 “ could induce me to, as well as the desire I have,
 “ that I and the rest of the world should be under
 “ fresh obligations to your ability and public spirit,
 “ which has done so much for making the new and
 “ the old Ireland, better known to its inhabitants.

“ I have the honour to be

&c. &c.

EDM. BURKE.”

Beaconsfield, Nov. 29, 1786.

For

For the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.

*To COL. CHARLES VALLANCEY, LL. D.
Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of
Antiquaries of London, Edinburgh and Perth;
Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the
Phil. Soc. of Philadelphia, &c.*

AS your friend CANDID has, by your permission, favoured the public with a letter from the author of the *Sublime and Beautiful*, I cannot help congratulating both you and the public on the occasion. For every thing which falls from the pen or the tongue of that great man, conveys either instruction or amusement; and falling from such a height it must make a deep impression. For, take him for all and all, I know no character, whether ancient or modern, in whom are united more splendid qualities, unfullied and unalloyed.

His learning is so various and so extensive, that we might praise it for its range and compass, were it not still more praise-worthy for its solidity and depth. His imagination is so lively and so creative, that he might justly be called the child of Fancy; and therefore his enemies, for even he is not without them, would persuade us, that his fancy overbears his judgment.—Whereas, this fine phrenzy, is, as it ought to be, only a secondary ingredient in the high composition of a man, who not only re-
flects

flects honour on this his native country, but even elevates the dignity of human nature. In his most eccentric flights, in his most seemingly wild excursions, in the most boisterous tempest of his passions, there is always a guardian-angel which rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm. His grand characteristic is genius, and his ruling faculty is judgment, though certainly not of that cold kind which this low world calls Prudence : but his reason is enlightened by intuition, and whilst he persuades as an orator, he instructs as a philosopher.

A nobleman of the highest station and abilities in England, though of an opposite party in politics, when he heard the petty minions of the day decry his powers, stopped them short, and said : Come, come, hold your tongue, the next age would not know that there was oratory in this, if Edmund Burke had not printed his speeches. And Dr. Johnson, generally a niggard in panegyric, speaking of that parity of talents which is generally distributed to the sons of men, has been heard to say, that, during his acquaintance with life, he knew but two men, who had risen considerably above the common standard : The one was Lord Chatham, the other was Edmund Burke.

To be commended then by such a man is certainly flattering, it may give the opinion of merit even where it may not be found : for the world is very submissive to great authorities, especially on subjects which it does not understand, and very apt to reverence most, what it understands least. This observation has *antiquity* on its side, for it is certainly as old as Tacitus : *Ignotis reverentia major*. And there is another still more ancient, which is not less true in another respect : *Tales nos esse putamus ut jure laudemur* : We are all very prone to believe whatever good thing we hear said of ourselves.

But after all I have said of Mr. Burke, (and I look up to him with more reverence than I can express)

press) it must be owned, that one thing is wanting to the consummation of his fame. Though an Irishman, he does not understand *Irish*. Here you excel him as much as he in other things does common men; for you are said to understand Irish full as well as you write English. And what is still more against him, though a scholar of the first class, he has not studied the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*. In the last respect, *Ierneus*, though as ignorant of the Irish language as *he* can be, will not yield the palm even to him; as he has by the slow drudgery of frequently reading some passages (for I do avow to you and to the world, that I have not read it all, nor perhaps the half of it) but I say that the frequent reading of some passages has compensated for his single reading, or, rather I should think, the glance of his eye over the *Collectanea*.

Apropos! I suppose that the book mentioned in his letter, is the last number published, containing between five and six hundred pages, independent of the index, in vindication of the ancient History of Ireland, by way of anticipating an answer to a certain History of the Revolutions of Ireland: *not yet published!* And I am well informed that your friend Charles O'Connor, Esq; had another book written and ready for the press, by way of antidote to the *furia infernalis* with which that work is supposed to abound.

That the author of the Sublime and Beautiful has paid you as many compliments as he could with a safe conscience, is evident from the exordium of his letter—and I, even I, could commend you, in some things, till the very echo should applaud again. Your anxious zeal for the neglected antiquities of Ireland, your unceasing application to the study of languages, your indefatigable industry in collecting those fragments of history, which lay scattered in the different corners of time and place.—All these efforts are truly honourable to you. And
I shall

I shall go farther, you did well in associating with yourself two such learned men as Mr. Ledwich and Mr. Beauford, in this laborious and arduous task of collecting that *body of matter*, whereof Mr. Burke speaks.—But here I must stop—instead of giving the *vis inertiae* of this body of matter a right direction, instead of making it, as he finely expresses it, *bear upon your subject*, you would make analogies, where you found none; and each new word was to you a foundation for a new system; so that the motto of your labours should be *diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis*. And no sooner did you find your colleagues, not mere bodies of matter, but endued with *minds* to think for themselves, than you turned them out of your society, and refused them a place for their works in the *Collectanea* *.

I have

* *To the Conductors of the DUBLIN CHRONICLE.*

GENTLEMEN,

IN the CRITICAL REVIEW, for March 1788, I find the following remarks upon Art. XIX. of the *Archæologia*, or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London; which, as the author is of this country, I request you may insert in your useful Paper, together with some cursory reflections thereon.

Art. XIX. Observations on our ancient Churches. By the Rev. Mr. Ledwich, F. A. S.—“These observations deserve much attention: Mr. Ledwich, to the accuracy of an antiquary joins the erudition of a scholar. The British and the Roman style of churches is, in this article, well discriminated; and what we style the Saxon, our author thinks, is the Roman arch, while the Gothic, which we have been used to attribute to the Saracens, is a corrupted form of the ruder ages, and not older than the tenth century. It is not the form of the arch, but the ornaments and mouldings also, that distinguish this kind of architecture which, though styled Roman, was probably brought from the East, as the earlier and more zealous Christians would reject the temples of idols, and every form connected with paganism. In the

I have heard, but if wrongly informed, your Orientalism can correct me, that when the Despots of

the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the architects, in our author's opinion, were not so scrupulous: they borrowed their ornaments from the Roman temples, and seemed to prefer those which were erected in the time of Adrian, and which the Ægyptian superstitions had deformed with the monstrous representations of the most contemptible idolatry. This is the style of the capitals in the French church at Canterbury. These were first introduced into France and Spain in the second century, by Basilides, who debased Christianity with many eastern superstitions."

Now give me leave to acquaint any reader, who may be at the trouble of turning to No. 12, of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, that he may there find the following passages, terminating with a most tremendous sentence pronounced against this very Mr. Ledwich. "Mr. Ledwich, a worthy member of our *triumvirate society of Hibernian Antiquaries*, (consisting now of him, Mr. Beauford, and the author of this number) in his letter to Governor Pownall, on the Ship-temple worship in Ireland, has observed, that an identity of language, carried so imposing an appearance, as to make me say, &c.—But a blow on *etymology* we little expected from that quarter.—But if our worthy member should think proper to proceed in *ironical controversy*, it is to be wished he will find some other channel, and some other title to convey his works to the eye of the public, than the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*."

Alas! poor Mr. Ledwich, had you not been so *ironical*, you might have had the honour to assist Lundy Foot and Robin Birch, in folding up figs and tobacco, & *quodcumque chartis amicitur ineptis*. Nay, if you had not mixed your works with the *baser matter* of the antiquaries of London, you might in *future* have shared in that sublime panegyric which all the *Reviewers* are laying their heads together to compose upon the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*; having been hitherto afraid *singly* to pronounce upon a work as far *above* criticism, as its graces are beyond the reach of art. What a poor consolation will it be to you, to say with Coriolanus, "There is a world elsewhere," or to exclaim with him in the pride of indignation against his undiscerning fellow-citizens—"I banish you."

I am, &c.

CANDIDISSIMUS.

of the East have usurped a throne, they instantly order their competitors, nay their very brethern, to be strangled without mercy.

But leaving it to the friends of *Otho* and *Veritas* to vindicate their opinions, let me now develop those of Mr. Burke: Paraphrase and translation may, perhaps, bring it down to the comprehension of those, who, by always thinking in the Irish idiom, seem to have forgot that of their mother tongue. After the ceremonial of compliment is nearly over, he says expressly: “Whether your
“system is fully established, is beyond my decision.
“I know, that for the first time you have inter-
“woven and connected, in a manner not easy to be
“hereafter separated, the Irish antiquities with
“those of *the polite and learned nations*, which are
“not a whit less uncertain than those of their new
“ally.” Before I go into either paraphrase or translation, let me remark the elegance of phrase in which he contrasts Old Ireland to the polite and learned nations, and thereby nicely reprobates every system of the politeness and literature of the Pagan Irish.—And now for the paraphrase of his text:
“Of the truth of your system I am not qualified to say any thing, but this I know, that by your collations of the Gaelic, of which you say the Irish is the most pure dialect, with the Hebrew, the Phœnician, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, the Arabic, the Persic, the Chinese, the Japonese, the Oscan, the Chilenfis, the Waldensis, the Maltese, the Biscayan, the Etruscan, the Gentoo, the Tartar, the Magogian, the Gomerian, the Pelasgian, the Æthiopian, the Cantabrian, the Slavonic, the Teutonic, the Bengallian, the Kalmuc, the Turkish, the Malagan, the Algonquin, the Carribean, the Mohawkian, the Shawanese, the Delawarian, to say nothing of the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Saxon, English, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, &c.—I know that by these learned collations
of

of yours with the Gaelic, and by that alliance you have formed between the antiquities of the polite and learned nations (who by the bye, were not a whit less rude and ignorant than the Irish) and those barbarians, whose languages you have been at the toil to collate, puts me in mind of Warburton; and you have so interwoven and connected them, that it will not be easy to separate them, nay it will be nearly impossible to say whether the Irish language and people originated from Europe, Asia, Africa, or America.

Before I go farther it must be remarked that the author of the *sublime* and *beautiful* had not seen the two last letters of *Veritas*; for if he had, he would have seen with what ease that web has been unravelled, which he thought inseparably woven. *Veritas*, like an able chemist, has decomposed this heterogeneous body of matter into its jarring atoms, which by a fortuitous concourse had been huddled together. But had the great conqueror of the scene of Plautus seen the Dublin Chronicle of Thursday last, he would not on the preceding Saturday, have boasted of those numerous captives which followed his chariot-wheels through the streets of Paris. Every eye which had the good fortune to behold that most learned criticism, already sees the laurels withered to the sere and yellow leaf. And should *Veritas* go to Paris next summer, though he cannot bring home the *Liber Lecanus*, though the *Down Survey* be, perhaps, already lodged in the Bermingham tower, yet he too can have his fourth letter published in French, for the edification of the metropolis of the Celts; and then CANDID's friend may bid a long adieu to all his greatness; he may in the bitterness of his heart, pronounce—Farewell all pride, pomp, and wreath of fancied victory!

But to return to Mr. Burke's letter; so confirmative of the sentiments of *Ierneus*. “However,
“we

“ we must not forget that in this system, we set out
 “ by admitting one of the fundamental parts of the
 “ story to be *enfeebled* by the *fabulous* and the *forged*,
 “ so far as it is laid in the *local* particulars. We
 “ are on this system obliged to *establish the credit* of
 “ our witness by *falsifying* the circumstances of his
 “ testimony; and to prove, that the things are *true*
 “ in some respects, though the relater meant to *de-*
 “ *ceive* in others.” Candid reader of CANDID’S
 letter, does this require either paraphrase or transla-
 tion?

But it is immediately added: “ As told of Ire-
 “ land—the beginning of its ancient history, for
 “ which we are obliged to Keating, must be given up.
 “ This may leave some *shadow* of doubt, even in a
 “ mind such as mine, which in all matters of interest-
 “ ing research, does certainly not wish to be disap-
 “ pointed.” The above long *hyphen*, for so I think
 the printers call it, after the words *as told of Ireland*—
 would induce a suspicion, if Colonel Vallancey had
 not communicated the letter, that in this place
 somewhat more was said than meets the eye; for per-
 spicuity is the attribute not only of the sublime and
 beautiful, but of every decent composition. Where-
 as here is an *hiatus valde deflendus*—Enough, how-
 ever, remains for my purpose. For does not every
 one of these positions fortify the system of *Ierneus*?
 or rather is not his whole sketch one continued illuf-
 tration of Mr. Burke’s argument? For why does
Ierneus combat the opinions of Colonel Vallancey
 and Mr. O’Conor? but because they would support
 that ancient history which Mr. Burke reprobates?
Ierneus rejects the times before St. Patrick, as either
 unknown or fabulous, and so does Mr. Burke. But
 Mr. Burke goes farther; he thinks, that the interval
 from thence to the English invasion is *enfeebled by*
the fabulous and the forged, and so does *Ierneus*.
 Yet he was not deterred from an attempt to illumi-
 nate this obscure, this dark, period. He took up the
 pen

pen to rescue the ancient history of his native country from that contempt into which it had fallen, in the eyes of all judicious men, both abroad and at home, from the many ponderous tomes which have of late been written in defence of its most objectionable parts.

Mr. Burke's language was certainly not clearly understood respecting this matter, else CANDID would not have been so forward in publishing his letter. His elegant words are: "Will you have the
 "goodness to pardon me for reminding you of what
 "I once before took the liberty to mention; my ear-
 "nest wish that some of the ancient Irish historical
 "monuments should be published as they stand, with
 "a translation in Latin or English. Until some-
 "thing of this kind is done, criticism can have no
 "secure anchorage. How should we be enabled to
 "judge of histories, or historical discussions on Eng-
 "lish affairs, where references were had to Bede,
 "to the Saxon chronicle, to Asser, to Ingulphus,
 "and the rest, whilst these authors lurked in libra-
 "ries, or what is worse, lay in the hands of indi-
 "viduals?"

Now here you must, in the first place, acknowledge, that, instead of complimenting, Mr. Burke meant to rebuke you, in his polite way, for not following that advice which, it appears, he once had given you; for why else should he beg your pardon? But to translate the whole into vulgar English, for the everlasting benefit of Irish scholars. "Colonel, I told you once, and I tell you again, that you and O'Connor and Toland and O'Flaherty and O'Halloran are all wrong in dwelling so long, in tedious and drawling declamations, upon the treasures of knowledge which, ye say, are to be found in the old Irish authors. I would rather have one original document than a thousand descants upon their value. If you would persuade me, who wish not to be deceived, produce the monuments themselves, together with
 such

such faithful translations as I can depend upon. But I must have the whole, without any suppressions. Till you have done this, criticism can have no secure anchorage. We shall be carried away by every wind of conjecture, till at last we founder on the ocean of ignorance, without pilot or polestar. Dogmatical assertions and arbitrary etymologies are very provoking; for whilst they oppose facts and torture words, they set our patience on the rack. I ask you, what should we, at this day, know of the ancient history of England, if we were not allowed to read the originals, but for ever put off with references to Bede, to Affer, to Ingulphus and the Saxon chronicle; whilst these authors lurked in libraries, or, which is worse, in the hands of individuals. In like manner, the world can never be assured, that the Irish books contain the history of a civilized people, till they see them translated. But if it shall appear upon the face of the translations, that the ancient Irish, instead of being a polite and learned people, had made no forward movements towards civilization, then the Irish language is not worth preservation. For the animosities and battles of savages and barbarians, are subjects not worthy of commemoration. Or to use the words of Milton, applied to the Saxon heptarchy: “Such bickerings to recount, so often met in our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites and crows, flocking and fighting in the air?”

Having now, for general satisfaction, and, I trust, for your own conviction, sufficiently proved, that the publisher of Mr. Burke's letter was not fully sensible of its real tendency; and it being announced by CANDID that *his* friends are to answer *Ierneus* as soon as health and leisure would permit; I will, for the present, conclude, by saying, (and I will say it in the words of that authority to which we both appeal) that *the body of matter*, which you have so

industriously collected, though it can seldom be brought to bear upon your subject, shall always be brought to bear against yourself, by

IERNEUS.

P. S. Ierneus cannot lose this opportunity of acquainting both you and the public, that he holds himself no more responsible for the opinions or expressions of *Otho* and *Veritas*, than for those of Mr. *Pinkerton*. The two first of those writers have inscribed their letters to him: and he considers himself honoured by the approbation of the friends of Mr. *Ledwich* and Mr. *Beauford*, whom the Publisher of the *Collectanea* was once so proud to call his colleagues. But of the whole merit of their writings he is not qualified to judge; for he is ashamed to own, that he knows little more of Hebrew than he does of Irish.

Second P. S. or Postscript upon Postscript. But though no adept in either of these learned languages, and though (for that reason with all justice) interdicted from the use of *criticism*, yet were it the cue of IERNEUS to go into etymological disquisition, he could produce such a catalogue of *derivations*, from the learned labours of CANDID's friend, as could find no parallel, from the Ganges to the Shannon; except perhaps in *Swift's* discourse to prove the antiquity of the *English tongue*: shewing from various instances that HEBREW, GREEK, and LATIN were derived from the ENGLISH. One instance which (as I remember) our facetious etymologist has given is *Andromache*; derived from *Andrew Macky*, a Scotch gentleman, who served at the siege of Troy, whose daughter Hector married, and whose father's name was gradually softened into that of *Andromache*.

Having given one instance from *Swift*, we shall give three from CANDID's friend, as his derivations
are

are more abundant, and they shall be of words neither obsolete nor abstruse, but hackneyed in the mouth of the vulgar, and are no other than the common Irish names of *Beads*, *Whiskey* and *Butter-milk*.

We who have not learned the Irish, the language of the most Westerly people, nor yet the languages of the most Easterly, from whom, it seems, the opposite inhabitants of the globe learned the art of speaking and all other arts, even that of kissing, * we *Sciolists*, I say, would have naturally concluded that the Irish word *Paidirin*, Rosary, or Beads, would have been derived from the word *Paidir*, which O'Brien, in his Irish dictionary, emphatically applies to the Lord's prayer; especially, when we reflect that the Irish received their *Ritual* from Rome and that *Ritual* in Latin, and that the most dignified prayer of that ritual is the *Pater Noster* or Lord's prayer; I say, we should have concluded that both *Paidir* and *Paidirin* originated from *Pater*. But Orientalism says otherwise *Collect. de reb. Hib.* Vol. 3. No. 12. pag. 516. “*Paidirin*, the rosary or beads, literally, “ the division of prayers—from *Phetil*. in Hebrew a “ twisted cord—the Irish word *fidhlin*, i. e. a small “ harp or fiddle.”

The dictionaries, and the interpretations given in old books, had confirmed us in the opinion, handed down by tradition, that the word now spelled *Uisquebaugh* was compounded of two Irish words denoting the water of life, or *aqua vitæ*. Therefore we find that the *aqua vitæ* (or *eau de vie*) of Ireland is emphatically called *uisce* (now spelled whiskey) as if to

X 2

say

* Soon after the Advertisement for No. 12 of the *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, appeared in the public prints, announcing, as the 4th article, a description of this matter among the Irish, proving it to be an *Oriental* custom, some foolish fellow, jealous I suppose of his country's honour in this respect, put the following into the Newspaper also.

You say from the East, the Irish learned to kifs
And pray, letter'd Col'nel, who taught them to p—fs?

say *The water*, by way of eminence. But as if nothing but *ignorance made drunk* could suppose that an Irish liquor should be called by an Irish name, it is now, for the credit of the country, demonstrated to come from the East, in the following irresistible manner : “ *Bita*, in Arabic, means *Meath*, or wine
 “ made of honey, and *batt* is drunken. *Bita* and
 “ *bital*, in Irish, imply an inebriating liquor. *Ufca*
 “ is a distilled spirit : in Persic, *uskesb* is a strong
 “ spirit made of hemp, says Richardson, and in ge-
 “ neral any strong drink ; it is the Irish word *ufca*
 “ or *usacht*, strength, power : *Ufca-bita* was the an-
 “ cient name of this strong spirit, which has been
 “ mistaken for two words very similar in letter and
 “ sound, i. e. *uisce-beatha*, i. e. *aqua vitæ*, and now
 “ called *usquebaugh*. *Visce* is certainly water, but
 “ should be written *isce*.

Collect. de rebus Hib. Vol. 3. N. 12. pag. 537.

In the same page we are further informed for our everlasting edification, that “ *Baine-claba*, thick, sour
 “ milk, is a Hebrew word.” And two passages from Genesis, one from Judges, and another from the proverbs of Solomon, are brought to depose that *chlab* signifies milk. On which we only observe that, as usual, the compound is misrepresented to countenance the fallacy of the etymon ; for the word is *Baine-clabar* not *Baine-claba* : and persuaded I am that the word *Baine* is familiar to most Irish ears as denoting *milk* ; and Lhuyd’s dictionary interprets *clabar* by the word *mire*. From whence it may well be supposed, that the sediment of butter-milk was called *Baine-clabar*, from its similitude to *mire* in consistence.

But well aware how sickening to some tastes such topics may prove, I shall no longer provoke the reader’s indignation with strictures upon such things. Yet as CANDID, the friend of Colonel Val-
 lancey,

lancey, has above announced an answer to IERNEUS, in the following accurate phraseology: "To Ierneus, who so artfully has interwoven the ancient with modern Ireland, to *deceive* his readers, *my* friends (i. e. CANDID's friends, among the warmest of whom we may safely set down the Colonel himself) will *certainly reply*, as soon as health permits the one, or leisure the other." We shall in the mean while, only request that the learned friend of CANDID, whose proficiency in the *English* language, (of which we all know a little,) gives such pregnant evidence of his skill in the *Celtic*, (of which so few know any thing) may not forget to answer the following objections, which are made to two of the articles, in the last volume of the *Transactions of the royal Irish Academy*.

At pag. 69 of the Antiquities, is the following article:

"On the silver medal, lately dug up in the Park of Dungannon, county Tyrone, the seat of the Right Hon. Lord Welles, by Colonel Charles Vallancey, member of the Royal Societies of London, Edinburgh and Dublin, &c. &c.

Then comes a drawing of the medal, on one side of which are clearly marked the numeral figures 1187, after which we read——

"This is one of those Arabian telesmanic medals called by the Arabs *Ain*, from the first letter of the inscription beginning with that character. The mystical word is generally composed of three letters, viz. Ain, Lam, Ya, forming the word *Ali*, which is very conspicuous on the front of this medal."

On which we observe, that if the word *Ali* be not so conspicuous as is here asserted, even on the *print* of the medal here produced, and if there be many medals now in London and elsewhere with the same numeral characters 1187, and in all other respects resembling that above described, except in this important

portant circumstance, that what the Colonel reads *Ali*, the London antiquaries read *Hamet*;—if Hamet, the reigning Emperor of Morocco, possessed the throne in the year 1187 according to the Arabic epoch;—if during the last siege of Gibraltar, or since, or before, some English officers might have got possession of some of his coins and brought them to England or Ireland, then it may be suspected that the medal, of which the drawing is exhibited in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, is not so ancient as the learned Colonel supposes, and it may turn out that *this Arabic Talisman* is only a common Morocco coin.

We are inclined to this opinion from the persuasion that an Arabic or Morocco coin would be dated, not from the birth of Christ, but from the *Hegyra* or flight of Mahomet, and by attending to this and the difference of the lunar and solar year (by the former of which the Arabians compute) it will be found that the year 1187 of the *Hegyra* falls upon the year 1773 of the Christian æra.

But says the Colonel: “The figures on our medal
“are *most assuredly* Spanish, English or Irish, and not
“Arabian, Persian, or Indian, it is *probable* this talif-
“man was struck by the Saracens of Spain, at the
“request of some European.” Yet so dull are we that we cannot spy out the *probability* of an *European* requesting a *Saracen* to strike for him an *Arabic, Telesmanic Medal* with the mystical word in *Arabic*, but the date in *Irish, English* or *Spanish*; especially as the arithmetical writers agree, that our nine numeral characters were borrowed from the *Arabians*. And our scepticism is not removed by those Antiquaries of London, who say that Colonel Vallancey’s *Arabian Telesmanic Medal*, said to be dug up in Dunganon Park, is neither more nor less than a Morocco coin of the present Emperor Hamet, struck in the year of the Hegeira 1187, that is in the year of our Lord 1773.

The

The other article, published in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy 1788, is to be found in the——

Memoir of the LANGUAGE, MANNERS and CUSTOMS of an Anglo-Saxon Colony, settled in the baronies of FORTH and BARGIE, in the county of WEXFORD IRELAND in 1167, 1168, and 1169. By CHARLES VALLANCEY LL. D. Member of the Royal Societies of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh; of the academy of Cortona and of Belles Lettres, of the Antiquarian Society of Perth, and of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

The article is intitled——

“ AN OLD SONG,

“ in the dialect of these baronies, which has been
 “ handed down by tradition from the arrival of
 “ the colony in Ireland. Subject the game at ball
 “ called Camann or Hurley. Scene the commons
 “ in the barony of Forth. Time, a church holy-day.
 “ *Walter* relates how his son *Thomas* lost the game,
 “ by aiming a strong blow at the ball, and missing
 “ it, broke his bat against a pismire hill.”

Many objections are made to the antiquity of this song y'cleped——

A YOLA ZONG. Tune—*Collin and Phebe.*

But we shall content ourselves with *one*, till the Editor shall honour us with an answer. And this objection is simply this—All the gentlemen of the county of Wexford, whom I have conversed with on the subject, assure me that it was written within these forty years; by one William Devereux, a Ro-
 man

man Catholic priest of that country, whose brother is still alive and will certify this matter, in the most solemn manner, if required. Mr. Clement Archer, a native of Wexford, now an eminent surgeon of the city of Dublin, and member of the Royal Irish Academy, whispered this matter, with which he was so well acquainted, to some members of the Royal Academy, when the above Memoir was read, but he was not of the Committee, and a wish being expressed, by some leading men there, that the Colonel should be gratified, in his wish, to get a place in the Transactions, he declined speaking out.—But there are internal evidences!!! a song of the 12th century to the *tune of Collin and Phebe* is rather suspicious. And certain it is, from the chronicles of the times, that no Anglo-Saxon colony was settled in the baronies of Bargie and Forth, or in any part of Ireland, so early as the year 1167, or 1168, or even 1169.

ADVERTISEMENT.

 ADVERTISEMENT.

MR. Pinkerton's excellent *Essay on Medals* having fallen into my hands, since the last sheet was put to press, I cannot lose this opportunity of giving an extract from it; as the authoritative sentiments, with which it is replete, are so confirmative of almost every leading position in the above *Strictures*; respecting the antiquities of Ireland. And to his praise be it spoken, this truly learned writer appears not a jot more partial to the antiquities of his native country, Scotland, than he does here to those of this.

Article 5. IRISH COINS.

Vol. 2. pag. 118. Edit. 2.

“Ireland, a country equal, if not superior, to England, in climate and soil, has become almost unknown in the early history of Europe, from being divided into a number of petty sovereignties; and consequently lost in intestine commotions. The genuine histories of Ireland, after the time of St. Patrick, A. D. 432, are full of petty tumults, and eternal uproar and slaughter. No less than twenty-one minute kingdoms, imprisoned in one isle, could hardly afford any other view. That there were supreme kings in Ireland, even before St. Patrick's time, is undoubted: but the other Princes only acknowledged their power, as far as convenient for their own interest.

To

To compensate the real picture of their history, some Irish antiquists have attempted to persuade mankind to a dereliction of common sense, and ancient authority, in favour of early Irish history exclusively. As this request is modest, it is much to be regretted, that mankind will not in this one, only one little instance, put common sense and ancient authority aside; for no doubt these antiquists have something as valuable to give in return, else the bargain would not be fair. Supposing mankind will consent, these Irish writers assure us that, while all the other kingdoms in Europe were utterly ignorant and barbarous, there were three countries full of science and civilization, namely Greece, Rome, and Ireland*. That the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and Irish letters, were all invented together, on the plains of Sennaar; and that those who say the Irish letters, are the same with the latter small Roman and Saxon, are as much deceived, as if they called an eagle's egg a hen's, merely because the shape is identically the same. Granting this rivalry of Ireland, with Greece and Rome, these writers will compensate the shocking picture of Irish history after Patrick's time, by a most brilliant scene, from 1000 years before Christ, to that period, under the famous Milesians. For all which grand acquisition to literature, being quite new, and totally unknown to Greek and Roman writers, it is but fair that mankind should exchange common sense and ancient authority, as before explained.

But as the *literati* of Europe, are under the dominion of certain contemptible prejudices, called love of truth, reliance on ancient authority, learning, literary experience, accuracy, honesty, and other empty names, I am reluctantly forced to follow the common plan, in treating of the origin of Irish coinage, not having seen a single Milesian coin of
any

* Keating, O'Flaherty, Toland, O'Connor, &c.

any size or metal. I must therefore, in compliance with vulgar prejudices, take my leave of the above antiquists, and speak of Ireland as of any other country.

On the incursions of the barbarians into Gaul and Britain, and the decline of learning in these countries, Ireland afforded an asylum for such learning as then was: and very many learned men were *Scotti de Hibernia*, for I do not remember one called *Hibernus*. Secure from foreign invasion, easily accessible from Gaul and Britain, learning flourished in Ireland, when lost in most parts of Europe. The intestine commotions, as the kinglets were all Christians, did not affect the schools and monasteries. But while the Scoti were thus learned, the Hiberni, or people, were utter savages; and the commonest arts of civilization were quite unknown. The monasteries were sanctuaries of learning; but being in their very nature detached from society, had no influence whatever on the people at large. Even the churches of Ireland, were merely of wood and wattles, till in the twelfth century, Malachy, bishop of Armagh, built the first church of stone*. The real ancient monuments of learning in Ireland, bear complete proof that the Greek and Roman writers did not err in representing the people as mere savages: as our singular term of wild Irish, implies at this day.

The Scots, or Germans in Ireland, being themselves barbarick, at the time of their settlement, were
lost

* St. Bernard, vit. Malach.

lost in the numbers of the Celtic inhabitants, whose language and manners they adopted; though with much mixture of their own, but not sufficient to counterbalance the native savageness of their inmates. The Danes, a wise and industrious, as well as victorious people, being much more advanced in society, when they settled in Ireland, were the founders of Dublin, Limeric and other cities; the seats of little Danish kingdoms, where arts and industry were alone known. Their frequent invasions of England, and neighbourhood to that opulent kingdom, made them acquainted with coinage. And it is clear, from the form and fabric, that the old rude pennies, found in Ireland, are struck by the Danes there. These pieces have no resemblance of the old Gaulic or British; or even of the Skeattas, or old English pennies; but are mere rude copies of those of the eighth and ninth centuries, executed by artists who could neither form nor read letters, and therefore instead of them put only strokes, IIIII as the reader will see in our first plate.

In the tenth century, this coinage had not only considerably improved among the Danes, but had reached some of the old kings, who were all of the Scottish or German race*. Of Anlaf 930, and Sihtric 994, there are coins struck at Dublin, ON DUFLI, OR DYFLI; Duffin or Dyflin, being the real Danish original name of this fine city, as of towns in Scandinavia. Coins of Donald, an Irish monarch, are also published by Simon. This Donald is probably Donald O'Neal, 956. In Mr. Dummer's collection was an unpublished

* For the Irish coins, this work is much indebted to Simon's Essay on Irish coins, Dublin, 1749, 4to.—In 1708, Kedder, a Swede, published “*Nummorum in Hibernia antequam hæc insula sub Henrico 2do. Angliæ rege, Anglici facta sit juris, cuforum Indagatio*, Lipsiæ, 4to.

lished coin, with "Domnaldus rex Monagh." Other Danish and Irish kings have coins; but I must pass them for the sake of brevity.

The pennies struck by English monarchs in Ireland, are remarkable. "Such with the name of Dublin, occur of Ethelred 866; Edred 948; Edgar 959; and one of Canute 1017, is now first published in plate 1st of this volume."

N. B. In sect. X. of the Strictures, page 222. Ethelred II. son of Edgar, is mentioned as the king, whose name was on the coin I had seen at Dr. Hunter's; but this I now suppose was my mistake, and am glad to have it here set right, by the learned gentleman who pointed out the coin to me.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

TH E following sketch was hastily drawn up in the spring of the year, 1788 ; during the publication of IERNEUS's letters, at the request of Richard Gough, Esq; F. R. S. and *Director* of the Antiquarian Society, of London ; as a Supplement to Camden's account of the government of Ireland, to be inserted in his edition of the BRITANNIA, lately published by that gentleman, in three volumes folio. As the Supplement was drawn up almost without the assistance of books, which the writer, being at a distance from his own, could not easily come at, he was obliged to resort to his own manuscript of the *History of the Revolutions of Ireland*, (of which he has spoken in the introduction to the above STRICTURES), so far as it went, and to rely on his memory for more recent transactions. Which, upon a review, he finds had betrayed him in an article or two ; but these mistakes he has here corrected, and endeavoured to supply what was wanting for the more easily comprehending a subject, which, from the compendious manner it is here handled, must be necessarily obscure. But as there are now many Irish gentlemen who have made the constitution of this country their peculiar study, he requests that they will obligingly point out such errors as may still have escaped the writer, and he shall candidly avail himself of their corrections, in that History of which he meditates the publication with *slow haste*, and to which he considers this whole Volume but as a preliminary.

A N

HISTORICAL SKETCH,

OF THE

CONSTITUTION, and GOVERNMENT of
IRELAND, from the most early authenticated
Period, down to the Year, 1783.

THE most antient form of government in Ireland seems to have been that of four or five provincial kings*; the most powerful of whom was commonly called monarch: *durante pentarchia, qui regum potentissimus dominium totius insulae sibi arripiebat vulgo rex Hiberniae dicebatur*: this is the opinion of Ware, who professes his ignorance of the commencement of what he here calls the *Pentarchy*, but his certainty that it ceased in the fifth century.

His account of it, however, does not satisfy the author of *Ogygia*: “If,” says he, “by the pentarchy, Ware means five kingdoms separate from each other, like the heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, in which the most powerful usurped a
“sovereignty

* Under each provincial king, there were subordinate toparchs or chieftains who did homage and paid tribute to those kings, in like manner as the kings did to the monarch. And as the monarch did not interfere in the internal government of the provinces, so neither did the provincial kings interpose in the regulation of his vassals territory.

“sovereignty over the rest, then our continued series
 “of government admits of no such form: but if by
 “pentarchy he means, a government in the same
 “commonwealth, consisting of sometimes five
 “and sometimes four kings under one monarch,
 “then it is plain this constitution took place,
 “though Sir James says he knows not when
 “it began. I say it commenced with the original
 “form of kingly government, and with Slane the
 “first monarch of the island; for then the whole
 “region was divided into five provinces, and a go-
 “vernor set over each province with the title of
 “king. But none of these pentarchs ever usurped
 “the dominion of the whole island, as Ware would
 “have it, because he was the strongest. For there
 “were pentarchs of each province, aliens from the
 “blood royal of the monarch; yet not one of these,
 “though ever so powerful, ever once aspired to the
 “sovereignty.”

Now, from this strange account of O’Flaherty,
 one must conclude, there could scarce have been any
 wars and fightings about the succession, contrary to
 the whole tenor of Irish history. Besides, this hardy
 asserter seems to have forgot that the famous Brian
 Boiromhe,* king of Munster, and the great Turlogh,
 king of Conaught, usurped the monarchy, though

aliens

* “Nor was it unjust or inglorious in him to make an attempt
 upon the crown of Ireland; for it appears, in this history, that
 the course of succession was often interrupted, and hereditary
 right laid aside; the monarchy was in some measure elective, and
 generally fell into the hands of the most valiant and beloved by the
 people; nor did he violate any of the established laws, or act con-
 trary to the constitution of that kingdom. The greatest part of
 the island he subdued by his arms, for he forced under his obedi-
 ence all who refused to confess his authority; but the justice and
 natural clemency of his temper soon procured him the affections of
 the people of all ranks and conditions, so that he was proclaimed
 by universal consent, and *Maolseachlain* was obliged to resign the
 sceptre and retire peaceably to the state of a subject.” Keating
 pag. 465.

aliens from the true blood royal. And, according to this theory, that pentarchy, which commenced with Slane, could not have ended but with Roderic.

But if such a form of government ever existed in Ireland, it cannot be learned from the contradictory reports of our best writers on the subject. Charles O'Connor, Esq; tells us, that Hugony strengthened and that Eochy weakened the monarchy: and in proof of the strength imparted by the former, we are referred to Ogygia, p. 260; but there I find no mention of any improvement made. The greatest part of what is there said of this Hugony the great, is an enumeration of his twenty-five sons; among whom he shared the kingdom: and though two only of these survived him, yet the division is said to have continued in force for no less than 300 years. But it seems that, ‘setting aside the pentarchy, and
‘parcelling the kingdom into twenty-five regular
‘districts or dynasties, widened the base of monar-
‘chical power.’ These are brave words; but I leave it to better politicians to understand the spirit of the regulation.

Let me, however, ask, what were the four or five provincial kings doing all this while that their government was so easily set aside? It must have been a very plastic constitution truly, especially in a turbulent and fierce nation, which out of the five, could at once be moulded into five times the number of dynasties according to the number of royal children.

It would be in vain to enquire, why Eochy weakened the monarchy by restoring the pentarchal or provincial government, when our sagacious differtator gives it up and tells us, that “he cannot so
“much as guess at the motives which induced the
“monarch to make such a change, as no revolu-
“tion could be more fatal to the monarchy.” Yet it has been observed, that the countries most fertile of tyrants have been most exposed to the conquests
Y of

of a foreign tyrant: for, being bound together by no tie of common interest, they fall, in succession, so many victims to their mutual animosities: *dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*. Or, if the invader should not be able to subdue them one after the other, then he sets up a weaker in opposition to his stronger neighbour, and so makes him a tool in conquering the rest: *habet instrumenta servitutis et reges*.

But abandoning these chimerical ideas of a pentarchy, let us confess that the times before the introduction of christianity are either unknown or fabulous. Mr. O'Connor, the fond advocate for our Pagan antiquities, admits, that "the licence of the bards has thrown much obscurity over them; and that we must derive the æra of uncorrupted history from the legislation of Tuathal, and particularly from that of Cormac O'Cuin, who improved upon his great ancestor's plan."

Now, Tuathal reigned in the second, and Cormac in the third, century. The former is said to have new-modelled the constitution, by assembling the states at Teamor, or Tarah, a hill of very commanding prospect in the county of Meath, and there establishing the famous *ses*, or, as it is since ridiculously called, the *parliament* of Tarah. To him and his successors it is also said that Meath was granted as mensal land, for the better support of regal dignity, which before depended too much on precarious tributes from the provincial kings*.

But

* It does not appear so certain that Meath was always a mensal territory, as cases might be produced when there was a monarch and a king of Meath, different persons at the same time. However, the revenue of the Monarch consisted of certain tributes paid in kind by the provincial princes, such as corn, cattle, &c. &c. exclusive of what he received from his own particular province. The revenue, common to all the provincial kings and chieftains, consisted of various exactions, such as Coshery, Bon-naught,

But the glory of completing the Tuathalian system was reserved for Cormac O'Cuin, a monarch celebrated for his political and philosophical attainments, but still more renowned for his being father-in-law to the fame-recorded Fin Mac Comhal, generalissimo of that invincible body of troops called the *Fiona Erion*, or the army of Ireland.

The last meeting of the *fer* of Tarah, which we read of, was towards the middle of the fifth century; convened, it is said, at the instance of St. Patrick, to revise the annals of the nation, and to publish an authentic copy of them; which from the place was called the *Psalter of Tarah*. But as parchment and the Latin letter was introduced by St. Patrick, and, as it is said that before him the Irish wrote upon beechen tablets with an iron style, we cannot suppose that this operose method was very favourable to historic purposes. So that if ever such a work was composed, it could be nothing more than a bare catalogue of traditional kings, or a meagre record of genealogies.

However, from that day to this, we hear no more of the *Psalter* than of the Parliament of Tarah. The first historic document, to which this country now makes pretence, is the *Psalter of Cashel*, written in the tenth century. All which I only observe in this place to shew what degree of stress is to be laid on those declamations, which have of late been multiplied in this country, in support of its Pagan civilization and regular form of antient government.

Y 2

O'Flaherty

naught, Cuddy, Cefs, Sorehin, &c.—Coshery was free quarter for the chieftain himself—Bonnaught was free quarter for his soldiers—Cuddy was a supper and lodging which a chief had a right to demand, not only from his subjects, but from his equals—there were other imposts for dogs, horses, &c. the explication of which belongs rather to antiquities. However, the Church or *Tearmon* lands, were exempted from all taxes whatever; at least after the English revolution.

O'Flaherty tells us, that in the Irish monarchy two things were to be regarded, HEREDITARY RIGHT and THE ELECTION OF THE PEOPLE; by which we are to understand, that the election could fall upon a certain family only, but that the choice of the individual of that family belonged to the people: so that it was *elective as to the person*, and *hereditary as to the blood*. These principles so jarring were the perpetual sources of discord and contention, which could only be composed by the strongest hand. Accordingly we find, that out of a long line of near 200 Irish monarchs, scarce two in immediate succession have died a natural death.

As a remedy for these inconveniencies, which necessarily adhered to this rude form, it was customary to elect the next most worthy of the same blood, whom they called *Roidamna*; and whose destination it was to ease the sovereign of some of the cares of royalty during his life, and to succeed to the throne at his death. But however this might mitigate, it did not cure, the malady. For sometimes the *Roidamna* took up arms against the monarch, and sometimes both of them fell victims to some more potent faction.

And here let it be observed, that a similar custom of electing a successor for the provincial kings and subordinate toparchs prevailed; but these were called *Thanists* or *Tanists*. And so rooted was this mode of chusing a successor in every district and department of the realm, that the bishops had their *comorbans* or coadjutors, who generally succeeded to their sees, unless set aside by some superior interest*.

Such, it is said, was the constitution of the Irish government in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries! A constitution calculated only for a people, whose

* See the foregoing Strictures, Sect. X. page 196.

whose various tribes, or septs, were perpetually at war with each other, and who were not willing to dispense, even for a day, with the want of a general to lead them to battle. But it was a constitution altogether incompatible with the arts of peace; so much so, that even their weapons of war were very ineffectual, for either offence or defence against a foreign enemy. Accordingly, Saxo Grammaticus gives the following description of their arms and manner of fighting: *Utitur autem Hibernorum gens levi & parabili armatura; doctior fuga superare quam bello: quo fit ut cum victoriam tibi cessisse putes discrimen immineat.* But to their wars among themselves may be safely applied, what Milton said of the battles of the Anglo-Saxons during the heptarchy, that they were no more worth recording than the skirmishes of kites and crows.

In the eighth century, a new order of government is said to have taken place in *two royal families* by *alternate succession*; which, instead of diminishing, increased those factions to which the nation was before too incident. No wonder that those Scythian nations, which, so early as the third century, had attempted a conquest of the kingdom, and had built the maritime towns, should, in the ninth century, be able to reduce it to such a state of abject slavery as is scarce to be paralleled in the annals of any other country.

We are told by Keating, that this galling yoke was removed by the stratagem of Maolseaghlín; and that the Ostmen being expert in the commercial and handicraft trades, were suffered to remain in the kingdom; but that about 200 years after they were finally expelled by the valour of Brian Boiromhe. This assertion, however, is not more repugnant to fact than to the whole tenor of his own narrative: for, he acquaints us, that it was by means of those alliances he formed with the Danes that Brian was enabled

enabled to dethrone Melaghlin, * and exalt himself to the monarchy: and, if he afterwards quarrelled with them and was slain by them at the battle of Clontarfe, it does not thence follow that he was either a champion or a martyr for the liberties of his country.

Now, that he was not so considered, at the time, may be from hence presumed, that his son was, upon his death, excluded from every pretension to the monarchy, except the imperial crown of Ireland, which they say, he kept, in his possession till, from resentment, he went to Rome and laid it at the Pope's feet; and the monarchy, we find, reverted to Melaghlin, who, during his deposition, continued to be king of Meath, the rightful inheritance of his family, contrary to what has been above advanced respecting that territory being the mensal land of the monarch.

Besides, we find that the Ostmen remained from that period, as before, masters of the maritime towns, and domineered in many places. We, all along, read of the exploits of the Danish kings of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, &c. In the year 1066 Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, styles Gothrick, a *Dane*, king of Ireland. The first vigorous opposition made to the first English invaders was by the Danes of Dublin. And we learn from the registry of Limerick, that so late as the reign of Edward II. matters of property were, then and there, decided by the oaths of twelve English, twelve Danes, and twelve Irish.

Keating talks of the great revenues paid into the Exchequer of Brian. But what were these revenues according to this writer's own account? "Cows
" and hogs, mantles and iron from the Irish, and
" wine both red and white from the Danes."

Now,

* Or Maolseaghlin; which seems to have been a favourite name with the kings of Meath.

Now, as these revenues were paid in kind, we must presume that money was then not much in use; and if so, the monarch had little need of an exchequer.

It may be true, that this very Brian made an offering of gold upon the altar at Armagh; and it may be thence inferred, that gold (and of course silver) might have been introduced before that time as money. But I have found no document to prove, that money was then *coined* by the Irish. The very name of *sterling* imports, that coined money was first introduced by the Ostmen or Easterlings. And it is natural to think, that they who confessedly carried on all the trade of the kingdom, should be the first to bring in that most ready medium for negotiating its commerce.

No regard then is to be paid to Keating, when he says, that a *mint* was set up in Armagh, and another in Cashel, so early as the days of St. Patrick. The rude state of the country, for ages after, was incompatible with such a premature advancement in civilization: especially if what our author asserts be true, that the Milesians exercised no mechanic art. Now, a people who have no foreign trade, nor the common arts of domestic life, must subsist principally upon the milk and flesh of their cattle; and, therefore, can have but little use for money.

Accordingly, our author gives us every where to understand, that what little traffic the Milesians had among themselves was carried on at certain fairs, and was transacted by barter: and though the use of money, coined by the Danes, could not have been unknown to them at the invasion of the English; yet a French gentleman who accompanied Richard II. in his expedition to Ireland, and wrote the history of it, after telling us that Macmurrough's horse cost 400 cows, makes this reflection: "for in that country they barter by exchange, horses for cows, and one commodity for another, and not for ready money."

All

All these things I set down the more minutely, that the constitution of the old monarchy of Ireland may be the better understood, when divested of those fictions by which it is supported by writers who mistake the real honour of their country. Yet Keating has told us that, “such were the whole-
 “some institutes of Brian Boiromhe, that a lady of
 “consummate beauty, adorned with jewels and a
 “ring of gold, travelled alone on foot from north to
 “south, without any attempt made on those orna-
 “ments, or on that still more precious ornament her
 “honour;” yet he soon after gives us the following passage: “after the decease of Melaghlin (who
 “was both successor and predecessor to the renowned
 “Brian), some of the chronicles of the island give
 “an account of many monarchs in succession to the
 “throne of Ireland. But it is a more probable opi-
 “nion that, after the death of this king till the Eng-
 “lish arrived, there was no absolute monarch of the
 “country, though there were several who assumed
 “to themselves the name.”

This state of things gave occasion to Mr. O’Conor to say, that “Ireland was at this time ripening for
 “chastisement by some foreign hand; but the Nor-
 “mans divided their blows with other nations, and
 “prevented all reform in Ireland; where the patriot-
 “ism of a few served only to prolong the disorders
 “of the constitution, and prevent that dissolution
 “which, in some cases, is the most desirable event
 “that can happen. But *the irruption* (as he calls it)
 “*of Henry II. king of England, proved the utter ruin*
 “*of the nation.*”

English government must have been bad indeed if it increased those evils which, before Henry II. did *confessedly* exist. But, sure I am, that if English government did not do all the good it might have done *in throwing the Irish constitution under a better genius*, it did not make it worse. If it refused the natives the benefit of the English law, it did not introduce the

the arbitrary, and therefore oppressive, law of the *Brehons*. And, if the English laws were so often sued for as a boon by the Irish, this was, on their part, a virtual confession that they were better than their own.

The candour of literature should have admitted, that England, which has been the school of philosophy and liberty to the rest of the world, has abolished many customs hostile to social improvement, and introduced many arts of civil life, which were before unknown to us; and, above all, that it has, at length, taught us to feel and to value those advantages.

But let us now see what that constitution was which Henry II. introduced in the year 1172. And here we may be certain, that the constitution of England, whatever it was at that time, was the model of that for Ireland. In his charter granted to the citizens of Dublin, mention is made of bailiffs, justices, &c. From whence it is inferred, that he divided the districts, subject to himself, into shires or counties. But the better opinion seems to be, that this distribution was reserved for his son John.

It is said, that after his return to England he sent over a *modus tenendi parlamenta in Hibernia*; which will not be denied: but that the instrument produced by the bishop of Meath, and so contended for as genuine by the famous Mr. Molyneux, was not that original *modus*, may be safely affirmed, and for this plain reason: We must suppose, that a *modus* sent by this prince could be only, *mutatis mutandis*, a transcript of the English *modus*. But in this instrument we find the form of summoning *knights, citizens, and burgeses*. Whereas it is evident from the gradual formation of the English constitution, that no representation of the people can be ascertained in England before Henry III. though it be talked of in the reign of John.

But

But a question of more importance arises: To whom did Henry communicate that constitution? The answer to which is simple: He communicated it to his subjects in Ireland. But here we must carefully distinguish between *subjects* and *tributaries*. A subject is one who is governed by the will, *i. e.* the law of a sovereign (no matter whether the sovereignty be lodged in one, in few, or in many); and who for protection returns the reciprocal duty of obedience. Whereas a *tributary* is not a subject but a vassal, who stipulates to pay tribute, and perhaps do homage, and swear fealty to a superior power, *that he may live in peace*. A sovereign may be tributary to a more potent sovereign, without obeying any of his ordinances; *i. e.* he may acknowledge his own inferiority by these tokens of submission, yet retain his sovereignty over his own subjects, without owing any other duty to his liege lord.

This was precisely the case of Ireland before Henry Plantagenet set foot in this realm, and after he departed from it. The provincial kings paid tribute to the monarch, and the subordinate toparchs to the provincial kings, without any diminution of their jurisdiction over their respective subjects. Roderic, the monarch, did not submit to Henry during his stay in Ireland; but, in a year or two after, he did homage and swore fealty by his proxies, and resigned, by deed, the sovereignty of certain districts, *that he might enjoy the remainder of his dominion in peace*.

This is placed beyond the arrest of doubt by the *Finis & Concordia*, &c. that final agreement made between them at Windsor; wherein it is expressly stipulated, that except in those districts he had formerly surrendered, the jurisdiction of Roderic was to remain undiminished over the rest of the island: *Totam illam terram & habitatores terræ habeat sub se*. Thus was Roderic pledged to make the vassal princes
pay

pay their tribute to himself, and, through his hands, it was to be conveyed to Henry. So that Roderic no more ceased to be *monarch of Ireland* than he did to be *king of Conaught*; or than William ceased to be king of Scotland, by his paying tribute and doing homage for the kingdom of Scotland, about the same time.

It was wise in Henry not to assume the style of king of Ireland, as he was then unable, from his pressing avocations, to enforce that submission which is the duty of subjects. He prudently left the title of *King* to such of the native chieftains as exercised the power, and contented himself with the title of *Lord* of Ireland, as most expressive of those badges of sovereignty which alone fell to his share.

Now, that he gave the title of kings to the Irish princes is not only evident from the above-mentioned *finis & concordia*, &c. in which it is agreed, that Roderic *rex sit sub se*, but also from his commission for making Fitz-Aldelm his lieutenant in Ireland, which is directed *Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Regibus*, &c. And we find the same practice continued by John and Henry III.

From this real state of things it is plain, that the constitution established in Ireland by Henry II. was only communicated to that *colony* of his English subjects which he settled there, and, perhaps, to such of the Irish as lived in that part of Leinster, which came in dower to Strongbow. For, had it been his wish to extend it to the Irish at large, it would have been impracticable. A people altogether ignorant of the language, manners, and laws of England, could not be supposed either capable or willing to receive it. They were not yet ripe enough for such a system. When, therefore, Matthew Paris reports that, *the laws of England were gratefully accepted by the Irish princes, who pledged themselves by oath to the observance of them*; we may plainly see that this

Monk

Monk mistook the oaths of *fealty* and *allegiance*, which they took to Henry as their *sovereign lord*, for an acceptance of laws which were not offered to them, and of which they were, for near four hundred years after, refused the benefit; though they repeatedly fought it.

It would have afforded a singular spectacle, in human nature to have seen such a promptitude, in favour of a constitution and laws utterly unknown. But nothing could be more natural than that the majority of the Irish princes should submit to Henry II. as we find they did, at the Council of Cashel, or Assembly of the States there held by him, *without his striking a blow*. For, though he himself did not strike, yet many of them were still smarting under the blows they had received from his subjects Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Gerald, and Strongbow. And, when so warlike and so powerful a prince appeared in person, and with great force, he must have struck terror into the stoutest heart in the land *.

But,

* It is not therefore just to say that, when the Irish Princes swore fealty and became Henry's liege men at Cashel; and when, afterwards at Windsor, Roderic's proxy swore fealty for their master, who then became Henry's liege man also, upon the condition of his reigning, under him as *Lord Paramount*, according to the tenor of the *Finis & Concordia*, &c. I say it is not just to say that a voluntary compact was entered into by the Irish Princes; for, if it can be called a compact, it was a compact extorted by force of arms.

But supposing that the Irish Princes had made their terms voluntarily and free from all constraint, these terms could bind only themselves, because the kings and chieftains of Ireland were all elective, as we have seen; and therefore, the right of bestowing the kingdom, or chieftaincy, did always revert to the people, upon the demise or surrender of the reigning prince. The submissions of Roderic, &c. could only bind themselves: The right, though not the power, of electing successors was still attached to the people. And for this reason, the compact of Dermot with Strongbow, whereby he stipulated to give him the inheritance of Leinster, in dower with his daughter, was, according to the Irish constitution such as it was, *ipso facto*, a nullity.

But, even if this had not been the case, we may well suppose, from that disorderly state of the nation to which we have already pointed, that many of them would, secretly, wish the downfall of the reigning monarch, whom they could only consider as an intruder to the throne. The two royal families, whose rightful inheritance it had been so long considered, must have been particularly penetrated with such sentiments: nor could the descendants of Boiromhe, though an usurper, be very cordial in their attachments to the house of Connaught, by which that of Munster had been excluded. All these, since they were to pay tribute, might have been better pleased to pay it to Henry Fitz-Empress than to Roderick O'Connor. Nay, their pride might have been engaged on this occasion; and these rude chieftains might have considered themselves as honoured by an alliance with a neighbouring prince of such acknowledged capacity and superiority of power.

And, as to the nation at large, at that time insensible of every idea of common interest, it could not be much surprized at an invasion of the English, having so long experienced the inroads and insults of the Ostmen; nor could they be very angry at the king of England for wishing to become their master, as they were so accustomed to a change of masters, and every day saw these their masters decide every contest by the strong and bloody hand.

But, be this as it may, upon the submission of the sovereign, and inferior kings, of Ireland, to Henry II. is founded that claim of conquest by which the kingdom of Ireland has been from that day to this annexed to the crown of England. Whereas the province of Leinster going in dower to Strongbow with the daughter of Dermot, was what gave the English such a footing in the land, as at length enabled

bled them to reduce the whole kingdom to a state of subjection.

But this did not happen for near four hundred years after; and, therefore, Sir John Davis in his book intituled, “ A discovery of the true causes why
“ Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought
“ under obedience to the crown of England until
“ the reign of James I.” tells us, that *Henry II. upon leaving Ireland left not a single subject there more than he found in it.* If this be so, and doubtless it cannot be controverted, and if, as the same author well defines it, “ that only can be called a
“ perfect conquest of a country which doth reduce
“ all the people thereof to the condition of subjects,
“ and if those only be subjects who are governed by
“ the ordinary laws and magistrates of the sovereign,” then certainly Ireland was not conquered by Henry II. *

It

* But supposing that Henry Plantagenet had been in the strictest sense the conqueror of Ireland, and that he had reduced the whole nation to unconditional obedience to his government, and that the Irish instead of becoming his vassals had become his subjects, and of course that he became as well intitled to the style of King, as of Lord of Ireland, then let us examine what rights were conveyed by this conquest, to him and his successors.

Conquest is Force. Force is a physical, and right a moral, quality; and between essences thus distinct there can never result the relationship of cause and effect. For though force may invest with power, it can no more convey a right than the sound of a trumpet can produce the taste of honey: or the colour of scarlet the smell of a rose. If right could be supposed to be the effect of power, the immutable nature of right and wrong would vary, according to the physical momentum of force. For if a power be strong enough to change the possession of a property, then the right would follow the power, as the effect its cause. Of course, weakness would be divested of all its rights, and there would be as many rights as powers to claim them. Then a villain with a dagger or pistol at my breast, would have a right over my person or property, if he can subdue me; and I, if weaker, would have no right to resist him; because it is supposed that, the right is decided by the prepollence of force.

Many

It must not be here forgotten, that at the great national assembly, generally called the Council of Cashel, at which the bishop of Lismore presided
as

Many ponderous tomes have been written to ascertain the rights of war. As if murder and devastation, things essentially wrong, could be reduced to right by system. For what is war, but theft and robbery on a great scale? As burglary is nothing but a siege in miniature. Yet I do not find that the rights of theft, robbery, murder and burglary have been as yet defined. The numbers concerned in any aggression, are so far from diminishing the guilt of the action, that they increase it, in proportion to those numbers, because many can do more mischief than a few.

But leaving philosophy to weep that the consequences of this doctrine (so shocking to every moral instinct, so repugnant to every rule of rectitude) may be traced in all the great transactions of the universe, we must confess that it would be no easy matter to prove that it was not the intention of nature that the stronger should govern the weaker: For why else does she distribute her powers and talents in such unequal measures and proportions to the children of men? and though it be true that power can never convey a right, yet it is equally true that all societies, however constituted, are governed by force. By force the father governs the child, the husband the wife, and the master the family. A family is a state in miniature. Here commences subordination. Vain is it to recur to a virtual compact for the origination of society. Mankind is, and ever has been, even in its most savage state, uniformly found in society and under subjection. The animal MAN may be found in solitude, but man the SPECIES, is social. The word law involves in it the idea of a sanction. The sanction is force. And let the sovereignty of a state be lodged where it may, the first magistrate bears a sword, though not always a sceptre. All societies then are governed by force, without being much controlled by principles of metaphysics.

Had the Irish invaded the English nation, and had Henry II. come over, as he did, by way of retaliation, then his right of conquest could not be called in question. But this was not the case, the English were the first invaders; and, of course, their superior force could give them no rights over the persons or property of an unoffending people, and much less over their posterity. Wars cannot be just on both sides, and they are generally unjust on both. The Irish stood upon the defensive and therefore not to be blamed. Consequently, the invasion of Ireland, by the king of England, can never be justified on the principles of right; and yet it cannot be much condemned, by the most squeamish politician, upon the max-

ims

as the Pope's Legate, and at which so many of the Irish Princes did homage and swore fealty to Henry, the whole hierarchy, except Gelatius the primate

of the world. For what is the history of any country, but a reflected image of human depravity, a painful detail of violated rights, a frightful register of wars, undertaken upon the same principle that Leviathan swallows up the smaller fish?

But it does not from hence follow that one nation acquires a RIGHT to govern another nation, because it is able to subdue it and to compel its people to enter into submissive compacts *in order to obtain peace*. And I will add, that it is unwise to argue, (as many writers have done, and particularly professor Blackstone) that Henry II. derived his title to Ireland from the right of conquest. For if force was his only title, then a superior force can at any time annihilate that title. And, if ideas of natural right are at all to enter into such discussions, it follows *a fortiori* that a conquered nation is more justifiable in shaking off a foreign yoke, at any time it feels itself in force, than the conqueror was in laying it on. But I shudder at the consequence of a doctrine, which universally absolves nations from their allegiance, whenever they can find an opportunity to withdraw themselves from an enforced subjection.

Yet this right of conquest was vehemently urged against me by Dr. Johnson, in a conversation I once held with him respecting the affairs of this country. The conversation appeared to my dear friend Dr. Watkinson, (to whom I repeated it, within an hour or two after it passed) so extraordinary, that he gave me pen, ink and paper to set it down immediately; for, says he, it deserves to be recorded, as a test of his political principles. I therefore give it here with the less reluctance, as upon the whole it discovers the original rectitude of a warm heart, biased by national prejudices. But first let me premise a circumstance or two——

Having spent the winter of the year 1777 in London, I had been honoured (and it is my pride to acknowledge it) with his familiarity and friendship. I had not seen him from that time till the 11th of June 1781, when I went to pay him a morning visit. I found him alone, and nothing but mutual enquiries respecting mutual friends had passed, when Barretti came in. Barretti, more curious than the Doctor, soon asked me, if the *Disturbances* in Ireland were over. The question, I own, surprized me, as I had left all things quiet, and was not at first altogether aware of the tendency of his question. I therefore in return asked what disturbances he meant? for that I had heard of none. What! said he, have you not been in arms? To which I answered categorically, yes! and many bodies of men continue so to be.

And

primate attended. The principal ecclesiastical ordinance there settled upon was uniformity of worship with the church of England. And the successors of Henry have since frequently found to their cost, that

And don't you call this *Disturbance*, rejoined Barretti. No! said I, the Irish Volunteers have demeaned themselves very peaceably, and instead of disturbing the repose of the country, have contributed most effectually to preserve its peace. The laws were never so well executed as since the Volunteers arose. The Irish are, I own, a turbulent people, and in many places, whenever they before could, they have resisted even a Justice of Peace's warrant; but this is now all over, the people, even the rudest of them, are every where amenable to law. You have heard of part of our country being infested with a banditti called *White-boys*, but now we hear nothing of them in Ireland, but as of a tale that is told. Mr. Barretti! you have received wrong impressions of these Irish Volunteers, you conceive them to be the dross and dregs of our country, but undeceive yourself, the reverse is the truth; they are composed of the most affluent and respectable inhabitants of the kingdom, from the knights of the shire to the most trusty freeholders in each parish. You are acquainted with English opulence and know how distasteful it would be to Englishmen of condition, or even farmers, to serve as militia men; but take off your eyes from this gorgeous scene, and behold a poor nation not habituated to the conveniencies of life, and you may understand why the lowest man who serves in the volunteer ranks is, some how, exalted above those who do not. To be a Volunteer in Ireland is an object of ambition, and that ambition is principally checked by the poverty of the people. For however strange it may appear to you, he must have been, for Ireland, a man in easy circumstances who could afford to be a Volunteer. The honour is attended with more expence than even some of them are able to bear: a handsome uniform, accoutrements, field days, &c. are all attended with great cost and charges to them. Yet as they are, nevertheless, the most rich, most civilized and respectable members of the community at large, and of the several parishes to which they belong, you cannot suspect that *they* would be the people most prone to raise *Disturbances* in their country. On the contrary, the fact is, that a decency, a sobriety, a principle of honour is already visible where it was not before to be seen.

Dr. Johnson, who all this while sat silent, but with a very attentive ear to what passed—and much more than passed than I set down—at length turned to me with an apparent indignation which I had never before experienced from him—What! sir, don't you call it *Disturbance* to oppose legal government with arms

that this great prince was more successful in conforming the ecclesiastical polity of Ireland to that of Rome, than in forming its civil polity upon the model of England.

In the year 1185, Henry sent over to his son John, now in his nineteenth year, with the title of lord

in your hands, and compel it to make laws in your favour? Sir, I call it rebellion, as much as the rebellions in Scotland. Doctor, said I, I am exceedingly sorry to hear that declaration fall from you, whom I always considered as a friend, sometimes partial, to Ireland: But this I can say, that we have always considered ourselves as among the most loyal of his Majesty's subjects, at the same time that, though obliged to submit, we have always denied allegiance to the supremacy of a British Parliament. We have a separate and distinct legislature of our own, and *that* we have never discovered any inclination to resist. Sir, says the Doctor, you do owe allegiance to an English Parliament, for you are *a conquered nation*; and had I had been minister I would have made you submit to it—I would have done as Cromwell did, I would have burned your cities and roasted you in the flames.—After this explosion, I perhaps warmly replied—Doctor! your advice to treat the Americans in that manner has not succeeded altogether to your wishes—the times are altered. To which he replied, Sir, you say truly that the times are altered, for power is now no where; our Government is a government of influence, but not of power. Yet had we treated the Americans as we ought, and as they deserved, we should have at once razed all their towns and let them enjoy their forests. But (in a jocular way repeating what he before said) when we should have roasted the Americans as rebels, we only whipped them as children; and we did not succeed, because my advice was not taken.

As arguments would have but enraged him again, I let him now settle into perfect calmness, when after a long pause, he, with a smile, said: Though I hold the Irish to be rebels, I don't think them altogether wrong; but you know that you compelled our Parliament, by force of arms, to pass an act in your favour, and that I call rebellion: Though what you claimed ought to have been granted, as you say, yet the mode of requisition was rebellious. Well, Doctor, said I, let me ask you, do you think that Ireland, would have recovered her usurped right by any other means? To which he candidly answered, I believe she would not: However, a wise government should not grant even a claim of justice, if an attempt is made to extort it by force. We had some more conversation on the same subject, till at length it came to this issue—Why, Sir, I don't know but I might have acted as you did, had I been an Irishman, but I speak as an Englishman.

lord of Ireland; and intending that he should be crowned king there, the Pope in compliment sent him a crown of peacocks feathers, together with a new donation of the island. But the king, seeing the ill consequences of having crowned his eldest son in England, changed his resolution, and John was not crowned. His stay in Ireland, the first time, was but short; for he and his boyish train having treated with contempt the Irish princes who came to pay him homage, a general insurrection took place. “Whence,” says Sir John Davis, “it was made manifest that the submission of the Irish princes, and the donation of the Pope, were but slender and weak assurances for a kingdom.”

Mr. Molyneux contends, that “by the donation of Ireland to John it was eminently set apart as a separate and distinct kingdom; and that the regality of it was absolutely granted to him without any reservation.” But it must have escaped this zealous advocate for the independence of the Irish Parliament upon that of England, that the subjects of Ireland, in consequence of this donation, were bound not only to John and his heirs, but also to the king and his heirs: And that in the charters of earl John to the inhabitants of those cities, reserved from the jurisdiction of Roderic O’Conor, he, as lord of Ireland, always excepts those rights *which pertain to the crown*. Thus, in his grant to the monastery of St. Thomas the martyr, at Donore in Dublin, of immunity from all secular services, he makes exception *in iis quæ ad regiam coronam pertinent*, with a power of holding a court for all pleas and complaints, *nisi de iis quæ ad regiam coronam spectaverint*.

And, though the grant of Ireland by Henry II. to earl John be now lost, a similar grant of Henry III. to his son Edward is still extant; wherein an exception of the above cities, the dominion of which

had been taken from Roderic and reserved by Henry, is particularly recited. The king grants to Edward *totam terram Hiberniæ, exceptis civitatibus Dublin, Limeric, &c. ita tamen quod predictæ terræ, &c. nunquam separentur a corona Angliæ, sed integre manent regibus Angliæ in perpetuum.*

It would require very express testimony, indeed, to prove that Henry II. who was so ambitious of annexing Ireland to his crown, should so soon alienate it. But the truth is, Henry only bestowed Ireland upon his son John, as a feudal tenure, to be held of him and his heirs, with certain regal prerogatives in certain points and places, *ita ut rex sit sub se*, as Roderic O'Connor had been before him, according to the *Finis & Concordia* settled at Windsor.

If John had been constituted the independent king of Ireland, the earldom of Moreton could not have been considered as the superior title; yet his style was Earl of Moreton and Lord of Ireland. If it be urged that his brother Richard I. never assumed the title of lord of Ireland, it should be remembered, that during his reign of near ten years, he did not spend eight months in England. So that he who regarded England so little may be supposed to have regarded Ireland nothing at all.

The most memorable acts of John, during his administration of Ireland, were his erecting courts of justice there, viz. the Chancery, King's-Bench, and Exchequer; and his dividing the English colony into twelve counties, in which only were the English laws published, and but feebly executed in any of them. Even in Leinster we find, that the consent of the heiress of Dermot was necessary to ratify and confirm his charters.

John, indeed, whatever his title may have been, did not consider himself as Lord of the whole island, for he generally limits his chartered grants *per potestatem nostram*. And the Pope well knowing that the crown

crown he had given was but a crown of feathers, commissions his legate in the reign of Richard I. to exercise his office in England, Wales, and those parts of Ireland in which the Earl of Moreton has power and dominion; *ac illis Hiberniæ partibus in quibus Johannes Moretonii comes potestatem habet & dominium.*

Sir John Davis, whose very errors are respectable, advances, upon what he calls the testimony of the best antiquaries, “ that the reign of Edward II. gave “ the first occasion of instituting the high court of “ parliament in Ireland; and that the laws made in “ the parliaments of England were, from time to “ time, transmitted hither under the great seal of “ that kingdom, to be proclaimed, enrolled, and executed as the laws of the realm.” And, in proof of this latter position, he exhibits the form, whereby Edward I. transmitted the English statutes.

But his diligence had not then reached to certain documents, since brought to light, which evince, what is declared by the Irish Parliament in the 32d of Henry VI. “ that the liege people of Ireland used to “ hold parliaments, without interruption, from the “ conquest of said land by the most noble king Henry Fitz-Empress to the present time.” And remarkable it is, that the first printed statutes of the Irish legislature were enacted in the 3d year of Edward II. at a time when he asserts that, “ for the “ space of 140 years after Henry II. there was but “ one parliament for both kingdoms.”

Besides, in the *Magna Charta* of Henry III. which was but a confirmation of that granted by his father John, and was also *mutatis mutandis* a transcript of that which he granted to England, all English rights were given and granted to the English settlement in Ireland: among which the principal was the right of being governed by their own laws, made by their own consent, in their own parliament.

Accordingly

Accordingly we find, that Ireland had not only a parliament, but representatives of the people in this king's reign: for, in the 38th year of Henry III. when he was *in partibus transmarinis*, and wanting aid of the Irish against the king of Castile, who had invaded Gascony, his queen, then regent, sends writs in the king's name, directed *Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, militibus, liberis hominibus, civibus & burgensibus terræ suæ Hiberniæ*.

But this matter is put past dispute by the letter which Edward I. sent to Ufford the justiciary, when the Irish nation offered him 8000 marks and a body of forces, to prevail on him to grant it a general denization, *i. e.* the common benefit of the English laws. His words are, "We therefore command you that, having entered into a treaty with these Irish people, and examined diligently into the wiles of our *commons*, prelates, nobles," &c.

The English laws, then, which were sent here in the manner which Sir John Davis sets forth, must have been ratified in the Irish parliament. The very time which this, generally accurate, writer has fixed for the institution of a parliament in Ireland, was certainly the most unlucky he could have pitched upon. It was the time when the northern Irish, abetted by De Burgo, then the most powerful of the English race in Ireland, had invited over Edward Bruce, brother to the king of Scotland who was married to De Burgo's sister, and had crowned him at Dundalk, *King of Ireland*; a time when the nation was in such distraction, that a parliament could scarcely meet: and when, in fact, we find that the king, by advice of Hotham, a favourite ecclesiastic, had, "summoned the prelates and nobles of most distinguished rank in Ireland to parliament in England; to treat, as the writ expresses it, with the king, his prelates and nobles, about the affairs of Ireland, and others of the king's arduous and
" urgent

“ urgent concerns ; *de aliis negotiis arduis & urgentibus nos congentibus.*”

Respecting this writ, Mr. Prynne has insisted, that the Irish peers were not summoned as members of parliament, but only as commissioners or agents. The learned writer, however, goes astray, from a false association of modern ideas with ancient times ; for what he deems too great an honour for the Irish settlement, its colonists regarded as a grievance, as is evident from that curious record 49 and 50 Edward III. “ *De personis ecclesiasticis per episcopos & clerum, ac personis laicis per communes cujuslibet comitatus & per cives & burghenses cujuslibet civitatis & burghi in Hibernia, eligendis, & transmittendis in Angliam, versus dominum regem & consilium suum,*” &c.

In the several returns to this writ we generally find a saving of rights and privileges : thus in that of Armagh, *Quod non tenemur, juxta libertates, privilegia, jura, leges, & consuetudines ecclesiæ, nec terræ Hiberniæ, aliquos de clero nostro eligere, nec mittere ad partes Angliæ, ad parlamenta seu consilia in Anglia tenenda : Tamen, ob reverentiam domini nostri regis Angliæ illustrissimi, & propter urgentissimam necessitatem dictæ terræ, &c. Salvis nobis & terræ prædictæ magnatibus & communibus, juribus, privilegiis, libertatibus, legibus, & consuetudinibus suis supradictis, concedimus, &c.* The return of the writ to the county of Carlow puts this matter in a strong light ; *Prætextu hujus brevis convocatis coram me apud Catherlough communibus, comitibus, &c.* “ Having by virtue of this writ
“ called before me the commons of the county,
“ they unanimously allege, that there is no layman
“ able, by reason of poverty, from the frequent
“ robberies and depredations of the Irish enemies,
“ to meet our sovereign lord the king in his par-
“ liament in England,” &c.

From this plain state of the fact we may see, that the people of neither country had as yet begun

to think of parliamentary dependance or subordination, &c. Speculations upon legislative rights were too nice and too refined for those rude warriors, who, without knowing what they did, first formed the English constitution in either country; and consequently no jealousies had, as yet, arisen between them.

From the reign of Edward III. little or no change took place in the Irish constitution till that of Henry VII. when a most essential alteration was made. For the better understanding of which, it will be useful to take a cursory review of the state of the country.

We have observed that the Irish being refused the protection of the English law, and being unable to protect themselves, had called in the brother of the king of Scotland, and crowned him king of Ireland. The kingdom, from this violent effort, was reduced to a state of unparalleled misery and desolation. And, however this royal and hardy adventurer lost at once his life and kingdom, the English affairs from that day declined apace, but this decline was precipitated by the following unwary proceeding.

It had been the practice of Henry II. and his successors to give grants of very extensive territories, with exorbitant jurisdiction over them, either for services done, alleged, or promised. Thus the earldom of Ulster was granted to De Courcy on condition of his conquering it; and several other instances of like nature occur in after times. This impolitic measure was the expedient of necessity in the English kings, who felt themselves unequal to the subjugation of the island by any other means. But it turned out one of the greatest obstructions to the end they proposed; for those potent Palatines grew into such consequence as to rival royalty itself.

Edward III. feeling the ill effects of what his predecessors, and even he himself, had done, and probably

bly irritated at the misuse which these factious Nobles had made of the delegated powers, committed to them as chief Governors, resolved to change hands, and instead of committing the reins of government to Irish-Englishmen, to send over Englishmen born. But, foreseeing that these governors, unconnected in the nation, might be thwarted by an overbearing opposition, from those Lords who had an hereditary pretension to vice-royalty, he took one of the most rash and ill-advised steps, which could have been adopted by so wise a prince. He at one dash of his pen made a resumption of all the estates and jurisdictions, granted by himself and his father, by the following writ: *Quia plures excessivæ donationes terrarum, tenementorum & libertatum, in terra Hiberniæ, ad minus veracem & subdolam suggestionem petentium, tam per Edward 2. quam per regem nunc factæ sunt, rex delusorias hujusmodi machinationes volens elidere, de concilio peritorum sibi assistentium, omnes donationes terrarum, tenementorum, & libertatum prædictarum duxit revocandas, quousque de meritis personarum, de causis & conditionibus donationum prædictarum fuerit informatus, & ideo, mandatum est justiciariis regni Hiberniæ, quod omnia, terras, tenementa & libertates prædicta per dictos regis justiciarios aut locum tenentes suos, quibuscunque personis facta scire facias.* But this hasty measure, instead of alienating their lands, alienated the affections of all his Irish subjects, who considering it as a common cause burst into a flame which was not quenched till after a contest of eleven years, when this resumption was annulled. But a faction was formed of the *English* by *birth* and the *English* by *blood*, which remained long after the original cause was removed.

Edward, in hopes that the presence of royalty would awe opposition and give efficacy to his mandate, sent over his son Lionel as Lord Lieutenant: and he undertook the charge more chearfully, in hopes of recovering the earldoms of Ulster and Conaught,

to which he was entitled by his wife, the heiress of De Burgo.

But, so far was he from composing the dissensions in Ireland that he inflamed them, by encouraging the English *by birth* to the prejudice of the English *by blood*: and, instead of recovering his wife's dower, he saw the earldom of Conaught possessed by the male heirs of De Burgo as their right by the Brehon law, according to which the females did not inherit, and that of Ulster become the property of a sept of the O'Neals. Exasperated at this state of the country, he got that famous bill passed called the *Statute of Kilkenny*; whereby the mere Irish, before *aliens*, were considered as enemies. So that (as Sir John Davis vouches) it was often adjudged no felony *to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace*.

But this ill-timed severity, though commended by some writers, instead of serving the English colony tended only to straighten the borders of the English pale. O'Brien seized the North, and Fitzgerald the South, of Munster; where disclaiming the English law, he ruled in all the barbarism of the Brehon jurisdiction. Cavanagh, of the blood of old king Dermot, became chieftain of Carlow; and O'More wrested from Mortimer that territory of Leix, now called the King and Queen's county. "Thus," says Sir John Davis, "more than a third part of Leinster became *degenerate* and fell away from the crown of England; so as only four shires of the English pale remained under obedience to the law." And so degrading was the weakness of the English government, that the English settlers became tributaries to the Irish chieftains, and paid them regularly for their protection, or cessation of hostilities, what was called the BLACK RENT.

The civil wars between the Roses instead of diminishing increased these maladies. Ireland had its Yorkists and Lancastrians; and according as these parties

parties prevailed in England their opponents were oppressed in Ireland. An ordinance had been made towards the close of the reign of Edward II. for holding *annual* parliaments; but this regulation was so slighted, that sometimes two, sometimes three parliaments would be held in the same year. To remedy this inconvenience, it was by a statute 34 Henry VI. declared, that for the future there shall be summoned but *one* parliament or great council in one year.

But as this law was to be in force but for three years, the abuse, if at all suspended, was speedily revived. For in the reign of that weak prince, his short-sighted ministers, alarmed at the pretensions of Richard Duke of York to the crown, and wishing to get rid of him, constituted him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, invested with almost every regal power; which he so increased, by his popularity, as to form a lasting attachment to his family, to the great prejudice of the king's interest. He and the chief governors after him exercised the prerogative which they claimed, as their right, of calling parliaments at their pleasure, *rege inconsulto*, and of passing bills, in the royal style, without any communication with the king. And so little regard was paid to order or decency, that the statutes made by a deputy of one faction were of no validity with a deputy of the opposite. The Yorkist rescinded the laws of the Lancastrian, and the Lancastrian of the Yorkist. Butler was head of the Lancastrian, and Fitzgerald of the York party. These rival houses only thought of mutual depression. They not only repealed each other's laws, and confiscated each other's estates, when in place and power; but they convened, at the same time, different assemblies; each assuming to themselves the authority of the constitutional parliament. At length the faction of Fitz-Gerald having obtained the ascendancy through the long residence of the duke of York in the government

vernment of Ireland, not only set up Lambert Symnel as representative of the house of York, but crowned him king in Dublin. And had a parliament been then sitting it is generally supposed that Lord Gormanston, then deputy to the duke of Bedford, would have prevailed to have his title to the crown solemnly recognized.

Such was the state of things when Henry VII. sent over Sir Edward Poyning to compose the distracted state of the English Pale, then straightened to a very narrow compass. Among the many laws which this deputy got passed there are two most deserving notice. The one was for the adoption of the English statutes, lately made in England; a law neither novel in its provision nor alterative of the constitution. The other was that, by way of eminence, since called *Poyning's law*, which altered the constitution indeed. But though it afterwards became so justly exceptionable, it was, at that time, the most popular law ever passed in the kingdom; because it was a temporary relief to the people from the exorbitant exactions of rapacious chief governors.

By this statute 10 Henry VII. it was provided,
 “ that no parliament be holden hereafter in Ireland
 “ but at such season as the king's lieutenant and
 “ council there first do certify to the king, under
 “ the great seal of that land, the causes and
 “ considerations, and all such acts as to them seem-
 “ eth should pass in the same parliament,” &c.
 The grand operation of this act was—it repealed the law for annual parliaments, and made the Lord Lieutenant and Council, or the king and his council of England, the proposer of the laws to be passed.

In the interval between the enacting of this law and the reign of Philip and Mary, we find very different interpretations given to it. Some contend-
 ed,

ed, that those acts, and those only, should be treated of, which had been certified to the king in manner aforesaid, and by him sent back previous to the meeting of parliament. Others maintained, that subsequent to the meeting of Parliament any matters might be treated of, which that assembly might deem conducive to the common weal : whilst all agreed, that no parliament was to be held till the transmissions and remissions above prescribed were made. And so unsettled were the customs of that period, that the commissions of Henry VIII. for holding of parliaments furnish precedents of usage, conformable to both these opinions. But what is still more extraordinary, the same reign gives an instance of one suspension of Poyning's act by the mere authority of the king ; and of another by the parliament without any previous licence from the king.

To remedy these inconveniencies, and to settle these variations, an explanatory act was framed in the 3d year of Philip and Mary ; by which the chief governor and privy council were empowered, during the session, to certify such other causes, considerations, &c. not foreseen before, as were deemed expedient after, the meeting of Parliament. The explanatory part of this act was, that the king and council in England might alter the bills certified by the chief governor and council of Ireland. The enacting part was that no bills but such as came over under the great seal of England should be enacted. So that under this law, neither the Lords nor Commons of Ireland, had a power to frame bills ; or even heads for bills. It was the Irish viceroy and privy council that framed the bill ; which the king and privy council in England could consent to, alter, or reject ; and if the bill was sent back *altered* or unaltered, all that the Lords or Commons of Ireland could do was, to accept it or refuse it *in toto*.

But we anticipate:—It must not be forgotten, that, in the latter part of his reign, Henry VIII. re-
jecting

jecting the title of Lord of Ireland, as being originally conferred by the Pope, and as of inferior dignity in the eyes of the people, assumed the stile of king of England, IRELAND, and FRANCE. * This title of KING was readily recognized by the Irish Parliament; but the title of SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH UPON EARTH did not meet with such ready acceptance. Yet this was at length effected, not more by the vigour than by the policy of his government, in relaxing the statute of Kilkenny; obedience to which, in the beginning of his reign, he had insisted upon with rigour. Upon this indulgence shewn to the manners of his subjects of the Pale, the principal chieftains, who had never owned any subjection to him, submitted and returned to their tributary state, upon condition that their countries might use the Brehon jurisdiction. Among these was M'Murrough, who in the form of a pension was paid an equivalent for the BLACK RENT. And some of those degenerate English who had renounced all allegiance, became not only *tributaries* but *subjects*. Among these was Desmond, who had at first insisted upon the privilege of his ancestors *of not entering any walled town*, and would only do homage and swear fidelity, but at length became a subject, and attended his duty as a lord of Parliament.

After

* And remarkable it is that on the back of the original act 33 Hen. 8. still preserved in the Rolls office, are the signatures of the Peers who passed it, and are as follow :

Lez Seingnior. sunt Assont.

Soil Baill. as Seingnior.

Georg. Dublin

Edmund of Cassell

Christopher Tuam

Nicholas of Waterford

William of Kildare

Allyxfandrye of Fernys

Thos. Eps. Immolacen

Johas. Eps. Lymic

Le Sr. Deputy le voylt.

Epus Immolacen. ac Donaght

. Filius nuper Domini

O'Breene ac O'Nelane

Doctor Physices Procuratores Dni.

O'Breene suæ Nacionis capitanei in

hoc presenti parlamento constituti

libenti et unanimi assensu consentic-

runt ad Actum infra scriptum.

After the reduction of Ulster by Elizabeth, when James had divided it into counties, and had naturalized the whole body of the natives, who had before been regarded as enemies, and when he had created many new boroughs over the whole kingdom, whereby the numbers, both of Lords and commoners, were so greatly increased, that a chief governor could not (now as formerly in a small parliament) pass such laws as he thought fit, by a majority of his own creatures and followers; Poynings law, which was at first considered by the people as their only barrier against the arbitrary exactions of their oppressive rulers, became unpopular. And so greatly did the minds of the nation change from the reign of queen Elizabeth to that of Charles I. that when, in the former period, Perrot wanted it to be suspended, the people were alarmed; but when they wanted it to be repealed, in the latter, Strafford was violently against it, and recommended it to his master as his most sacred prerogative not to be given up.

And here it must be observed, that the reign of James I. forms a new epoch in the constitution of Ireland. Till his time the nation at large had never been represented in parliament; for what was before called the parliament of IRELAND, should have been rather called the parliament of the PALE; as it was in fact but a Colonial assembly, composed of the lords and commons of little more than four counties, to which the English settlement called the Pale had been confined. And from hence may we account for that sudden revolution which took place in the maxims of government and the opinions of the people.

So early as the reign of James I. the commons claimed the right of being at least *remembrancers* to the privy council of such laws as were fit to be propounded. And, after the fall of Strafford, they not only claimed but established the right of preparing what was called HEADS OF BILLS, and of presenting

senting them to the governor and council for transmission.

From that time the statutes of Ireland were enacted in the following manner: The matter or heads of a bill were, by the leave of either house, brought in, moved for, or propounded, and then debated upon; and, if agreed to by a majority, they were laid before the chief governor and privy council, who sometimes certified them without alteration, sometimes after altering them, and sometimes smothered them altogether, by not sending them to England.

If they were certified by the chief governor and Irish privy council, transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, and sent back *unaltered* under the great seal of England, then they passed that house in which they originated, and were so sent to the other house of parliament; and, if approved by that house, the bill passed into a law, by the royal assent from the throne given by the Lord-lieutenant. But, if the bill came back *altered*, then it was usual either to reject it entirely, or frame anew the heads of a bill in compliance with the returned alterations, and then send it on the above-mentioned progress. Yet there are several cases where bills altered in England have been passed in Ireland, without observing this mode of proceeding.

From this view we may see, that the constitution of Ireland differed materially from that of Great Britain, though in both the assent of the three estates was necessary to the framing of a law. In the British parliament, the assent or negative of the lords or commons is given first or second in order, according as the bill happens to originate in either house, and the royal assent or negative is always given *last*. Whereas in Ireland the royal assent or negative came always second in order: For as to the assent given by the chief governor that was mere
matter

matter of form. So that the Irish parliament was but little better than the register of royal edicts.

Another difference in the British and Irish constitution was striking. In Britain no bill was laid before the throne till it had been approved of by both houses, i. e. by the voice of the nation: whereas in Ireland the bill having been laid before the king in the first instance, prevented it from being supported by the joint weight and influence which the co-operation of both houses might have otherwise obtained. So that from this difference in the stage, at which, in the progress of a bill, the royal assent or negative was given, it frequently happened that bills were either altered or negatived without ceremony.

But the power assumed by the Irish privy council of not even certifying the heads of bills, but stifling them in the first step of their progress to the crown, made a still more mortifying distinction between the legislatures of the two countries. And, though this power might have been considered as only a delegation of part of the royal prerogative of *negativing*, to save the crown the disagreeable exercise of the right; yet as bills have been seldom, and of late never, negatived by the crown in England, this was considered as an usurpation, and felt as a grievance of the first magnitude.

Such was the general process in making acts of parliament in Ireland, till the year 1782! We have not, to be sure, been able, in this slight sketch, to mark minutely all the variations, which this unsettled constitution has undergone. It may therefore be useful to point to the most considerable, from the time that parliament asserted and established its claim to the right of propounding *heads* of bills. During the Protectorship an Irish parliament was not allowed to meet—the nation sent its representatives to the English parliament. So that here was a tempo-

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rary union of the two legislatures !—After the restoration, a parliament being assembled, a new order of things took place ; on which seems principally to be founded that great influence which the crown to this day possesses in Ireland. Most of the lands which had been forfeited by the rebellion of 1641 having been granted by Cromwell to his adherents, it was expected that Charles II. would resume these grants, made by one now considered as an usurper ; especially as he would have been justified in the proceeding by the maxims of the common law, and as those lands would have produced a prodigious revenue. But the restored king, not yet forgetting what he and his father had so lately suffered, did not wish to provoke those gallant veterans who had been instrumental in suppressing the Irish, whose estates they now enjoyed. He therefore took a more cautious method, he consented to the famous *Acts of Settlement and Explanation*, by which he relinquished his claim to the forfeited lands. In return for this boon, the parliament, now composed chiefly of men interested in Cromwell's grants, settled an hereditary revenue on the crown in perpetuity ; by which they gave up their control over the purse of the nation, and thus rendered the king, and his successors, in a great measure, independent on the people for supplies. And to recover its importance, thus lost, has been the policy of parliament from that day to this. Yet however obsequiously the house of commons, upon that occasion, conducted itself, its Speaker in an address to the Lord Lieutenant, and in the presence of both houses, stated the right of Ireland to be governed only by laws made by her own parliament.

In the reign of James II. a bill had been prepared by parliament (the proceedings of which are not recognized on our Journals) for the repeal of Poyning's law, but that dastard king, who loved power
as

as much as he hated the Irish (among whom he took shelter merely because they were addicted to popery) would not part with this darling prerogative, and refused his assent to the bill. But he heartily assented to a repeal of the act of settlement.

In the year 1692, the fourth after the revolution, a parliament was summoned, at the meeting of which the Lord Lieutenant asked for a supply, as he said the established revenue was not sufficient. Several certified bills were transmitted to England, and returned upon the principles of Poyning's law. Two of them were bills of supply, and one of these was passed; but a declaratory vote was at the same time entered into, "That it was and is the sole and undoubted right of the commons to prepare heads of a bill for raising money." The other was rejected; and then it was resolved, "that it be entered on the journals of this house, that the reason why the said bill was rejected is, that the same had not its rise in this house." These resolutions were made on the 27th and 28th of October, and on the 3d of November, Lord Sydney, by a speech from the throne, assigning these reasons, prorogued the parliament from time to time; and at length it was dissolved, without being suffered to meet again. No parliament was afterwards called till 1695, which was found more obsequious; for in the session of 1697 and 1698, it passed that ever-memorable bill for the suppression of the woollen manufacture in Ireland. Yet remarkable it is that, in the latter end of this reign, a BILL OF RIGHTS was sent up to the Lord Deputy to be transmitted to England, in due form, but it was never more heard of. It is also to be remembered that a sum of 120,000*l.* towards the supply, was raised by a LAND TAX, apportioned and levied, in the same manner, as cesses for county charges are, by presentment at grand juries.

In the reign of queen Ann the house of lords passed a vote, or resolution, declaratory of its *judicial rights*, which had been invaded by the English house of lords; as we shall see below. But what distinguishes and disgraces her reign in Ireland is, that monstrous addition to Elizabeth's code of penal statutes, already existing, against the Roman Catholics; at a time when they had not committed any new offence. The rigour of these, however, has been mitigated in the present mild reign*.

We have hitherto considered the Irish legislature as *independent*; but it was not so considered by several English lawyers, from Lord Coke to judge Blackstone; who maintained, that wherever Ireland was particularly named, it was bound by English acts of

* But, by a sort of political Hyfteron and Proteron, we have granted the greater whilst we withhold the lesser favours. We give them property, but we refuse them education—education both abroad and at home. If we allow them wealth, should we not allow them such accomplishments as may make them appear worthy of it? such as may render riches a blessing not a curse, both to the possessors and the community at large? Should an enlightened Legislature, conspire with an unenlightened Priesthood, in detaining its votaries in primeval ignorance? as if they could only be governed with a *bit and a bridle, like the brute beasts which have no understanding*. Remove their ignorance, enlighten their intellectual darkness, and you loosen their senseless attachment to that foreign court, which their priests by way of eminence call THE COURT. Let them be as well instructed, and they will not be more *priest-ridden* than their neighbours. Give them every privilege in common with other separatists from the establishment, except a right of carrying arms, and votes in any department of the state. But these are boons which never should be conceded to them. For these envied privileges would, in time (i. e. after a new generation of rich and well-informed catholics has sprung up) become the most powerful incentives to their ambition; as we see they daily prove to all other non-conformists, to allure them to conformity; convinced, as they then would be, that salvation was no more attached to beads than a prayer book.—But I wander, this is not the place for such reflections.

of parliament. This doctrine, though strenuously opposed by other English lawyers of equal authority, and always disclaimed by the Irish nation, was nevertheless adopted by the English parliament; which, from time to time, passed several laws restraining the trade of Ireland (the principal of which was the Navigation act, &c.) by which the Irish nation was to all intents and purposes bound.

I here only relate the *fact*, without considering the *RIGHT*, as this is now happily given up by the British parliament. How this came about, let us now see. Judge Blackstone says, that “the Irish
“ nation having almost forgotten its dependence,
“ and being ready to dispute it, it became necessary
“ to declare how that matter really stood: and, there-
“ fore, by statute 6 George I. c. 5. it is declared,
“ that the kingdom of Ireland ought to be subor-
“ dinate to and dependent upon the Imperial crown
“ of Great Britain, as being inseparably united
“ thereto; and that the King’s majesty, with the
“ consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Bri-
“ tain in parliament, hath power to make laws to
“ bind the people of Ireland.”

The immediate occasion of the act was this: The house of lords of Ireland had always been considered as the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom; to which appeals from the inferior courts in the last resort lay. Accordingly, on the petition of the Earl of Meath, 2 Anne in the year 1703, the house having examined the rolls of parliament from 38 Henry VI. came, among others, to the following resolutions, *nem. con.* “That the determinations
“ and judgements of this court of parliament are
“ final and conclusive, and cannot be reversed or
“ set aside by any other court whatever. That if
“ any subject shall hereafter presume to remove any
“ cause determined in this high court to any other
“ court, such persons shall be deemed betrayers of
“ her

“ her Majesty’s prerogative, the privileges of this
 “ house, and the rights and liberties of this king-
 “ dom. And the like was resolved respecting any
 “ sheriff, feneschal, or other officer, who shall pre-
 “ sume to put in execution any order from any
 “ other court, or who shall refuse, neglect, or de-
 “ fer putting in execution the orders of this high
 “ court of parliament.”

Pursuant to this practice A. D. 1717, in a cause wherein Hester Sherlock was appellant, and Maurice Annesly respondent, the House of Lords reversed a decision of the court of Exchequer, and issued a decretal order to the sheriff to put the appellant in possession of certain lands in the county of Kildare, till a certain sum should be paid to her. But soon after, an injunction issued out of the court of Exchequer, signed by the right honourable Jeffrey Gilbert, Esq; lord chief baron of the said court, directed to the sheriff of Kildare, requiring him to restore Annesly to the possession of those lands, whereof Hester Sherlock was then actually possessed by virtue of the aforesaid order. The sheriff refused to execute the writ of injunction, and returned thereon *in hæc verba*, the order of the house of the 3d of October 1717, and the resolutions of it on the 11th of February 1703; the barons attached and fined the sheriff: the sheriff petitioned the Lords: the Lords resented this offence *as they could*; they ordered the lord Chief Baron and the other Barons into the custody of the black-rod, as betrayers of the prerogative of the crown, the privileges of the house, and the rights and liberties of the people.

This brought on the declaratory act of 6 George I. above, in part, recited; which further expressly asserts, that “ the peers of Ireland have no jurisdic-
 “ tion to affirm or reverse any judgments or
 “ decrees whatsoever.” Thus we see the declarati-

ons

ons of the two parliaments in flat contradiction to each other. But the matter did not rest here. In the next session of the Irish parliament, the archbishop of Dublin * drew up an accurate statement of this matter, which was presented to his majesty in the form of an address from the Lords spiritual and temporal.

It sets forth, “ that for the practice of appealing “ to the Lords of England, but two precedents before the revolution could be found, one in 1670 “ and the other in 1679;” but these appeals (as Ireland, on account of the wars which then distracted the kingdom had no parliament) were not supposed to have invalidated the right of the Irish lords ; and, accordingly, after twenty-six years intermission, appeals were made and orders issued thereon as formerly. Nor were they ever questioned till the year 1699, when two appeals from the parliament here were carried before the Lords in England. And though the parliament of Ireland could not interpose, or any wise assert its jurisdiction, because it was not sitting, yet the Lords of England declared the said causes to be *coram non judice*; and, without hearing their merits, reversed the decrees that had been made.

And in this address, which is a very long one, complaint is made, that “ if the power of judicature may, by a vote of the British lords, be taken “ away from the parliament of Ireland, no reason “ can be given, why the same lords may not, in “ like manner, deprive us of the benefit of our “ whole constitution.”

But

* This was William King, author of the State of the Protestants of Ireland during the reign of King James II. Though a Whig he was the friend of Swift. But his great abilities and learning, rendered him liberal. His book, *de origine mali*, translated and published with notes, by Law, late Bishop of Carlisle, is deemed a most complete system of metaphysics.

But no answer was given to this humble and dutiful address. The parliament was soon after prorogued, and was not suffered to meet for two years, after being seven times prorogued. The nation was not then in a condition to redress itself. At no time of sufficient force to contend with Great Britain, except upon its own ground, the natural strength of Ireland was, at this time, much impaired from two causes, which, in a discourse of this kind, claim attention.

We have seen, that though the whole nation was represented in parliament from the reign of James I. there was, nevertheless, no union in the sentiments of the people, always divided by faction. Before the reformation the contest was between the *English* and the *Irish* interest. But the penal statutes, which in the reign of Elizabeth had been enacted against Roman Catholics, at once absorbed this distinction, and created two new parties, the *Protestant* and the *Popish* interest; in which there was a perfect coalition of nation and blood. The only animosity which remained arose from religious zeal, from mistaken ideas of the gospel of peace: which was carried to such an inordinate height, in the reign of Ann, as to produce that horrible addition of restrictive penalties, to which we have above alluded.

But in the reign of George I. the flame of *Whig* and *Tory*, which had long raged in England, had caught Ireland, where the Tories were mostly *Jacobites*. This schism weakened the Protestant party, and they, who before (though exclusively invested with all legislative powers) would have been unable, without the influence of the crown, to govern the Catholic party (a vast majority of the people) found themselves in no condition to quarrel with England about their parliamentary rights, whether of legislation or jurisdiction.

The

The other cause, which at this time particularly debilitated Ireland, was the restriction which had been recently imposed upon its woollen manufacture. Ireland, adapted by nature to the growth of wool, had been very early celebrated for fabrics of that material, particularly frizes, ratteens, serges, &c. This has been elegantly proved by lord Charlemont from the testimony of the Italian poets; but the patents and leases of another Irish nobleman afford still more decisive proofs; for in them mention is made of above forty fulling-mills about two hundred years ago, not a vestige of which has remained during the memory of man. But parliamentary records are incontrovertable. By 50 Edward III. c. 8. no alnage is to be paid of frize ware made in Ireland when imported into England. Before the civil wars which commenced in 1641, woollens had been, for some years, exported to the amount of seventy thousand pounds and upwards. In the year 1695, a resolution appears on the journals for altering and amending the act of 17 and 18 Car. II. for the true making of all sorts of cloth called the old and the new drapery, &c.

This state of the Irish woollen trade, though not very flourishing, so alarmed England, that both houses of parliament present addresses to king William, in which they strongly express their
 “jealousy of the woollen manufacture of Ireland,
 “and pray for strict laws to prohibit and suppress
 “the same. To which his majesty answers, that,
 “*he will do all that in him lies to discourage the*
 “*woollen manufacture of Ireland.*”

And such was his influence upon the national council at that time, that it laid an additional duty, amounting to a prohibition, upon the exportation of Irish woollens. After this no parliament was suffered to meet in Ireland for five years, not so
 much

much as to utter its complaints. But in the reign of queen Anne, the commons lay before her a most affecting representation of what they call their *deplorable condition*. And from that time a visible decay appeared over the *South*, particularly, the finest part of the kingdom, where the woollen branches had principally flourished; whilst the *North* did not so severely feel the shock, as the linen manufacture had been long cultivated there. However, the kingdom may be said to have been paralytic on one side, when the declaratory act of 6th George I. passed in the British parliament.

For the clearer display of the sequel it is important to observe, that the interference of the English parliament in the affairs of this country had been long complained of. So early as 1641 the house of commons, at a conference with the Lords, set forth, by their prolocutor Darcy, their manifold grievances, and propound to the judges questions touching the independence of Ireland, the illegality of appeals to the King's-Bench in England, Castle-Chamber proceedings, &c.

In 1698 Mr. Molyneux's famous book drew the attention of both kingdoms to the political tendency of a foreign legislative. The English commons addressed the king upon the dangerous consequence of that book to the crown and people of England, by denying the power of their parliament to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland: and, to shew their resentment against the doctrine, ordered the book to be burned in the most ignominious manner. But this only emblazoned its reputation. While the incomparable Swift lighted a flame of patriotism in every Irish bosom, which glowed at intervals till the year 1753; when, having lost its pole-star, it took a direction not altogether right.

To understand this matter clearly it must be remembered, that by an act passed in the reign of Charles II. an *hereditary revenue* had been settled upon

upon the *crown*. This was in effect a perpetual money bill ; and, therefore, the crown was not here, as in England, under the necessity of calling frequent parliaments for the support of government. Whence it has come to pass, that we have had frequent and long intervals without parliaments, during which no violent complaints or commotions were either heard or felt. And it is argued, that this hereditary revenue might be so managed as to answer all the necessary exigencies of state *. However, this circumstance alone must shew what a striking contrast there still remains between the constitutions of Britain and Ireland.

This

* This may appear to some a paradox, but for its solution we submit the following considerations :—

1. It may be presumed that the additional duties have not raised the productive revenue as much as is generally supposed ; for evident it must be, (from all experience in political œconomy,) that raising the duty upon any given article, must cause one or other of these effects.—It must either diminish the consumption of that article, or it must invite a contraband trade to supply the demand.—So that high duties, whilst they discourage the fair trader, increase the number, salary, and perquisites of tax-gatherers, without proportionably increasing the net revenue of the nation.

2. But as theories are fallacious, let us advert to the fact. From the year 1666, till after the Revolution, no regular Parliament was held in Ireland, yet the hereditary revenue alone, not only answered all the exigencies of government, but frequently produced a considerable surplus for the king's private use.—In 1669, both establishments amounted to about one hundred and seventy thousand pounds *per annum*, and at that time, the king farmed out this revenue for £204,500.—In 1672, Lord Ranelagh, the Vice-treasurer, and his partners agreed to defray the growing charges, and all arrears of the establishments, and all other debts due from his Majesty in Ireland, and over and above to pay into the king's private purse, the sum of £80,000 yearly, for five years.—In 1676, this revenue was farmed to Sir James Shean, for £240,000, and in two years after, it was raised to £300,000.—At the expiration of this term, the crown took the hereditary revenue

This inheritance was originally vested in the crown, for the support of government, to which it was more than sufficient till after the revolution, when an additional supply was (as we have seen) asked, and as readily granted by parliament; pleased as it then was to find *that* revenue so reduced that it appeared inadequate to the exigencies of the state: For by this dependant state of the crown, the commons could only hope to recover their lost importance. The land-tax and poll-tax, first granted, appearing inexpedient, the old additional duties commenced soon after, and were from session to session vested in the crown, *generally*, for the support of government, in order to supply any deficiency that might

revenue out of the hands of farmers, and put it into the management of commissioners, and upon this footing it has ever since stood. But after the Revolution, a redundancy no longer appearing, Lord Sydney asked for an additional supply, as we have above shewn, under the year 1692.

3. In the year 1753, a balance of £315,822 remained in the treasury unapplied, over and above every demand of government. To which must be added, that from the year 1753 to 1759, the nation was exonerated from the loan duties, and every other impost, except the *old* additional duties, and yet the establishments were not only supported in the usual manner, but there was a redundancy for various and profuse grants, to interested private jobs, and injudicious public projects. Whereas in the year 1779, the additional duties had so far sunk the productive aggregate of the national revenues, that all together, they were not sufficient to support the establishments, and the kingdom was under the necessity of receiving £50,000 from England, to pay the army arrears.

4. It must be here carefully observed, that, if from the first to the last of these specified periods, the expences of government were of necessity increasing, yet the improvement of the country, however slow, at least kept pace with that necessity: though it had not then entered into the heart of parliament to conceive and to resolve, that the taxes imposed on the nation, instead of being regulated by the measure of national ability, should be raised to the arbitrary standard of national expence.

5. In

might arise in the hereditary revenue. At first given without any appropriations, they became soon regularly charged, at the times of granting, with considerable sums, and now with very large ones, for various purposes in which government has no concern; and by that means are, in a great measure, diverted from their original intention. And observable it is, that, of late years, it has been conceded by the crown, that the hereditary revenue and additional duties, should become an aggregate fund, chargeable in like manner, with such sums as parliament, with the King's consent and approbation, may

5. In the year 1684, the hereditary inland excise and ale-licenses, amounted to £87,367, but in 1772, they produced only £78,217, that is to say, near ten thousand pounds a year less than above a hundred years ago.—In the year 1723, when an estimate was made, by the house of commons, of what the hereditary revenue and additional duties may produce, the committee appointed for that purpose, report as follows: “ That at the close of the account at Christmas, for two years, the hereditary revenue, clear of all charges, may be computed at £640,000,—old additional duties at £199,000,—wine and spirits at £40,400,—new duties on ale, beer and strong waters, at £30,600,—tax of four shillings *per* pound on absentees at £8,400—and the poundage of the additional duties at £6,900; making together £925,300.

The last public account *I have seen* stands thus:

	£.	s.	d.
The produce of the hereditary revenue, from Lady-day 1786, to Lady-day 1787	630,471	1	6½
Whence deducting for management and other expences	368,221	12	0
There will remain <i>net</i>	262,249	9	6½

Now by taking the half of the above £640,000, which was for the biennial service, it appears that the annual *net* produce of the hereditary revenue, was in the year 1787, near sixty thousand pounds less than it was sixty-six years ago.

may chuse to apply to other purposes, than those of government*.

In 1749, a balance of £220,241 appearing in the Vice-treasurer's hands, over and above all expences of government, an act of parliament was passed for applying £128,500 of this balance, towards the discharge of the national debt. And it then became a question, where the right of disposing of this surplus was lodged—in the king or in the parliament? If the redundancy had grown from the hereditary revenue alone, it would evidently have been at the discretion of the crown to dispose of it to whatever uses thought fit. But this was not the case, for the surplus arose partly from those additional duties. Accordingly, the question became disputable, and was disputed in the year 1753.

In 1751, a balance of £248,396, remaining in the treasury, £120,000 of this sum was resolved on to be applied towards paying off the national debt; and the heads of a bill were for this purpose certified to England. But the king, willing to preserve the right of the crown over the redundancy in the treasury, required the opinion of all the chief judges of England, assisted by the attorney and solicitor general, how the law stood in this particular: their unanimous answer was, “that the previous consent
“ was part of the royal prerogative in the disposi-
“ tion of this money.” The Lord Lieutenant, in his speech from the throne, on opening the session, declared to the house of commons, “that his
“ majesty would graciously *consent* and recommended
“ it to them, that such part of the money remaining
“ in his treasury, as should be thought consis-
“ tent with the public service, be applied to the
“ further reduction of the national debt.” And
the

* For the better understanding this matter, see the appendix, giving a general view of the revenue, &c.

the word *consent* omitted in the transmitted bill, was inserted in the bill returned from England. Yet it passed in Ireland *nem. con.* But the aristocracy was not yet ripe for effectual opposition !

In 1753 the balance in the Vice Treasurer's hands amounting to 315,822l. heads of a bill were framed for applying so much of that sum, as should be sufficient, to discharge the remainder of the national debt and for other purposes. Into this bill was inserted, in England, the objectionable clause, by which his Majesty's *consent* for such appropriation was expressed. The bill was rejected, in the House of Commons, by a small majority.

Had the word *assent* been used instead of *consent*, there could have been no pretext for controversy. But at this time a powerful faction in parliament wanted to force themselves into place and power ; and so artful were they, that the people became at once the tools and dupes of *their* ambition.* For notwithstanding the *patriot* party (as it was then called) had a majority upon the question of *previous consent*, all the redundancy was drawn out of the treasury by virtue of the king's letter. So that except £77,500, the public debt then expunged, the kingdom lost the remainder granted to public works, &c. which, though made private jobs of, were nevertheless of some national utility, from the mere circulation of the money at home.

The leaders of opposition, now finding that they could not avail themselves of the surplus in the treasury, were resolved that a surplus should never more be found there ; and as the flourishing state of the revenue must keep the crown independent on them, and consequently render a parliament not so necessary, it became a maxim to depress the hereditary

* One of the toasts of that time was :—*Assent to the King and consent to the Commons.*

Another was :—*The Patriot Black-smith who refused to shoe the Courtiers horse.*

ditary revenue, by addition upon addition to the old additional duties, and to dole away the public money in a multiplicity of grants, ostensibly for public, but really for private, uses. This became so avowed, that the committee appointed for the disposal of public bounties, &c. &c. was by way of eminence called the *scrambling* Committee.

That violent commotion, in the year 1753, could not have been excited by such a cause, if the public mind, not so enlightened by politicks as at present, had not been sore from political and commercial oppressions. However, it had its use. The agitation of the times roused a spirit of enquiry, which a despair of redress had in some measure repressed. And as a perpetual struggle for power was kept up between the crown and the aristocratic party, some detached and independent men, from time to time, arose, whose *first essays* gradually pointed out the path of national interest. And however sordid the views of the great Borough-owners generally were, they sometimes coincided with the public good, and became the instruments, contrary to their wish and expectation, of diminishing that influence which they laboured to monopolize. They had seats in parliament, but they had not always men of abilities to fill them. So that a good parliamentary speaker was generally enabled, if a great borough-owner remained discontented, to lead a powerful opposition in parliament. Doctor Lucas, though bred an apothecary, but a man of talents and perseverance, brought about a revolution in the constitution of Ireland, which had been long the object of its patriotism.

To explain how this came about we must observe, that till the year 1767, the deputation of a Lord Lieutenant was but biennial, and his residence only for a winter: during the rest of the two years the reins were committed to three Lords Justices. One of these had for a long series of years been either the lord Primate or lord Chancellor,

chancellor, always Englishmen, and on whom was delegated, as far as possible, the influence of the crown. The other two were generally chosen out of those great proprietors of boroughs, who stipulated for the terms upon which they would carry the crown business through the house; so that they might not improperly be called *undertakers*. These provided that a certain proportion of court favours should pass through their hands, to keep their followers in absolute dependence upon themselves; which, in effect, threw the influence of the crown into the hands of these grandees.

More effectually to weaken this influence the perpetual residence of the Lord-lieutenant, was then adopted. And as this alone could not produce the desired effect all at once, it was deemed adviseable to grant the people their favourite wish, the limiting the duration of parliament, which, before, terminated only with the reign of the king.

In 1768 heads of a bill for *septennial* parliaments were certified by the chief governor and privy council, supposing that it would be suppressed in England. But it was returned, with the alteration of the word *septennial* into *octennial*. And this alteration was, without scruple, adopted by the commons; and the tide of popularity carried it through the house of lords. Lord Townshend's coach was dragged by the populace from the castle to the parliament house to give it the royal assent.

But the popular joy, expressed on this occasion, could not conceal the discontents of the nation, any more than a surplus in the treasury in 1753 could demonstrate the riches of the people. The nation at large felt itself cramped by the navigation act, and other English acts restraining its commerce. Munster, particularly, was impoverished by the suppression of the woollen, its staple, manufacture: for, people bred to one trade cannot so easily betake themselves to another; and, having then no trade at all

they began to rise in those tumults and insurrections of *White-boys*, which, changing only the name to that of *Right-boys*, do to this day defy the law, the gallows, and the gibbet.* For, though the cause

* In the year 1762 they were called *Levellers* from their levelling those ditches wherewith certain Commons had been inclosed, to their exclusion from the right of commonage. Afterwards they extended their views, and were for regulating the rents of potatoe grounds, and, from wearing shirts over their clothes in the night, they were called *White-boys*. During the prevalence of Volunteering they were entirely suppressed; but of late, through the insidious collusion of those men who extort the rack rents for the potatoe grounds, they have directed their fury, principally, against tithe-proctors and tithe-farmers, and have assumed the name of *Right-boys*. These deluded people, feeling themselves oppressed, knew not where to turn themselves for redress. Upon the most fertile soil they found themselves in want of subsistence, and vainly supposed that the enclosing of commons, the price of an acre of potatoe ground, or the tithe of that acre, was the source of all their misery. And it was natural for them to resent what they most immediately felt. If we strike our heads against a tree, or a wall, we are angry at the tree or at the wall, or any other inanimate thing that hurts us. But it was not the exclusion from commonage, it was not the price of potatoe ground, nor yet the tithe of those potatoes, which were the causes of these risings. No! these small matters were only the immediate occasions of them. But the cause sunk deeper, the prime cause was the suppression of the woollen manufacture. This being suppressed, the landlord, generally a noble absentee, set his estate to rich solvent tenants at an easy rate, who found more profit in stocking the land with beasts than with people, who could find no vent for their manufactures, nor for their corn; on which, as well as other provisions, embargoes were then so frequently laid; and the corn laws, then in existence, were all devised to favour English agriculture and to discourage Irish. It was an easy matter for parliament to recommend the culture of flax, the spinning of it into yarn, and the weaving of it into linen; but the comber of wool, the spinner and the weaver of it knew no more of the process of making green linen, than the dyer did of the bleaching of it. Accordingly, the woollen manufacture immediately languished and soon expired. The single men migrated to France and the other countries where they could find employment. But the shepherds and the cottiers having, in a generation or two, increased population, their robust and active sons were obliged to betake themselves to England for work in summer;

cause has been of late removed, the effects still remain. And, if a people bred to one trade cannot well take up another, much less can a people bred in idleness turn to handicrafts at all. A new generation must arise before the relaxation of the above restraints can produce manufacturers.

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summer; where if they got money, as mowers and reapers, they generally got the ague. Those were the successful emigrants who were advanced to coal-heaving and carrying of sedans.

Let us now contrast this view, summary though it be, to that of Ulster, and it will not appear less just. Ulster, though the most northerly, mountainous, and barren, is, nevertheless, the most populous, cultivated and affluent province of the kingdom. There, no such disturbances, as rage in Munster, are ever heard of; though it abounds with agitators, who labour to excite discontents and commotions. But, there, the people have full employment for their industry. There, they have the linen manufacture, and there, they had the linen manufacture, as their staple, so early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth: as I could prove from undoubted records, were this a place for it; though it is assigned a much later date. The north is the situation in Ireland most congenial to it. There, is the fuel at the foot of almost every hill for the spinner, and, there, are the frequent falls of water for the bleacher. There, tithes, though they are the occasion of grumbling conversations, are not felt as a grievance; because there, as every where else, their value is never paid, and the people generally see that, if they were abolished, the landlord would raise his land more than they pay for the tithes of them. The grievance, there, is the price of land, which being set in small parcels to the weavers and other manufacturers, they pay their high rents more from their trades than from the produce of their ill-cultivated lands.

However, the South is the part of Ireland by nature destined for the woollen manufacture, and it appears from unquestionable documents, that it had early availed itself of its advantages, and that in the last century (as we have shewn) it had made exports of it to a considerable amount, for the time. And evident it must be that it was the discouragements, both internal and external, it suffered after, and indeed before, *the revolution*, which must be assigned as the great and original source of all those evils, which had reduced that fine country to a state much worse than it is at present. For already it displays the nascent effects of a free trade and a wise internal regulation. Though Dean Tucker advised England to grant Ireland a free trade, &c. upon this *liberal* principle, that it never could be of any use to it.

The American war increased the evils incident to restricted trade and suppressed manufactures. A *non-importation* of English commodities was agreed to in Ireland, and sanctioned by the oaths of most of the dealers in those goods, in order to compensate for the rigour of the laws by a home consumption. But, notwithstanding some unemployed hands were thus set to work, England was obliged to remit money for the support of the military establishment.

To this circumstance the lord-lieutenant in his speech from the throne, October 1779, alludes in the following words: "I have it expressly in command from his majesty to assure you, that the cares and solitudes inseparable from a state of hostility, have not prevented him from turning his royal mind to the interests and distresses of this kingdom with the most affectionate concern; of which *the money remitted to this country for its defence*, when England had every reason to apprehend a most formidable and immediate attack, *affords a most convincing proof.*"

The commons, in their address to the throne, take occasion to declare, that it is *not by temporary expedients*, but *by a free trade alone* that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin*. And, soon

* This was no new idea, (or expression upon the spur of the occasion) as was suggested at the time by *party writers*, who always disguise and disgrace the truth: it was the settled sentiment of the wisest and best men in the country, long before this requisition was made in parliament. It appears from a letter of the secretary Sir Richard Heron, that Lord Pery, the then Speaker, had expressed his opinion to him a year before, that "Ireland cannot be essentially benefitted by any thing short of a *free commerce.*" And it would be doing injustice to the administration of Lord Buckinghamshire not to recite his sentiments, communicated to Lord North, in March 1778, soon after the appointment of Commissioners to treat with the American colonies, at the request of his majesties *principal servants*, and other gentlemen who had uniformly

soon after, both houses of parliament resolved, that their thanks be given to the several volunteer corps, for their spirited exertions, at this time so necessary, in defence of their country.

Before we go farther it must be observed, that this army of citizens had suddenly sprung up, not (as is erroneously supposed) without the sanction of government. The occasion was this: a formidable invasion being expected, and the coast of Ireland being every where destitute of protection, the corporation of Belfast presented a memorial to the lord-lieutenant, requesting the aid of a military force. In answer to which the Secretary gave them to understand, that no adequate assistance could then be spared, and that they must provide for their own defence: but in order to enable them more effectually to do so, they were furnished with several thousand stands of arms; and the governors of counties were every where ordered to open their stores, and supply

uniformly and steadily supported his majesty's measures in this parliament, to submit their earnest request "that whatever privileges and advantages in trade shall be granted to the Colonies, if the conciliatory plan shall take effect, may be extended to Ireland, and that the Colonies may not in any respect be put upon a better footing than Ireland."

"In different conversations, says his Excellency, which have passed between me and some of the ablest men here, concerning the trade of this kingdom, I have been thoroughly convinced that an enlargement of it may in many instances become absolutely necessary for its support, as well to enable it to answer the many drains to which it is annually subject, particularly to Great Britain, as to make provision for the expences of his majesty's government, which of late years have in every branch been increased to a considerable amount. And I am persuaded that the wealth and advantage proceeding from such enlargement of trade, would not only redound to the benefit of Great Britain, but that in return, his majesty may expect the utmost efforts of his subjects in this kingdom, in support of his government, and for the general service of the British empire; I have therefore made no difficulty in complying with their request, that I would represent this state as the general sense of the country to your Lordship."

supply such as were willing to take up arms and use them in defence of their country*.

However, the address of the house of commons, and the non-importation agreement, so declarative of the sense of the armed associations, had their weight in the deliberations of the British legislature. Lord North expatiated on the expediency of complying with the requisition of the Irish parliament; and, to induce the nation more readily to acquiesce in the *grant of a free trade*, he represented it *as a boon resumeable at pleasure*: and, accordingly, the navigation act and other English acts restricting the trade of Ireland were relaxed. N. B. That would have been the season for a prime minister of England to have offered Ireland a legislative union and a thorough incorporation of interests.

But the Irish nation soon saw how precarious their tenure might be of the ground they had gained. It at once occurred to them, that nothing less than a free government of their own would regulate their commerce, so as to be productive of that prosperity they aspired to. On the 9th of June 1780, the Dublin volunteers, the duke of Leinster in the chair, came to the following resolutions: “ That
 “ the king, lords, and commons of Ireland only are
 “ competent to make laws binding the subjects of
 “ this realm; and that we will not obey or give
 “ operation to any laws, save only those enacted
 “ by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland;
 “ whose

* It does not belong to this sketch, to go farther into the rise and progress of the Volunteer Army of Ireland, than to exhibit the spirit of an association entered into for internal defence, and persevered in as a means of redressing those grievances which the nation complained of, as well from the assumed supremacy of the British parliament, as from the inefficiency of its own, either for external or internal regulation. They talk of Volunteers in Wexford and Kilkenny, so early as the years 1766 and 1770, but those small bodies of men, associated upon principles very different from those we have pointed out.

“ whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes.” *

On the 28th of December 1781, the officers and delegates of the first Ulster regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, met at Armagh, and after some harsh expressions against parliamentary corruption, came to the resolution of inviting every volunteer association of Ulster, to meet in the most central town of the province. And accordingly they published, in the newspapers, their invitation for a meeting at Dungannon, on the 15th of February 1782. The measure was generally disapproved of, at the time, by the best friends of the country, and by none more (as I have heard) than by the truly noble commander of the regiment. But, as the dye was cast, he could only play his men to the best advantage. Accordingly, this worthy Earl, (who has since given another instance of his signal prudence, in moderating the zeal of these popular meetings) called together some of his ablest friends, and with them digested resolutions for this formidable assemblage.

On the 15th of February 1782, the representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers of the province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, came, among others, to the following resolutions:—

“ That a citizen by learning the use of arms, does
 “ not abandon any of his civil rights :—That a
 “ claim of any body of men, other than the king,
 “ lords and commons of Ireland, to make laws to
 “ bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and
 “ a grievance :—That the powers exercised by the
 “ privy council of both kingdoms, under any colour
 “ or

* We go no farther back than this meeting, though similar resolutions had long before been entered into in other quarters of the kingdom ; but here they were sanctioned by the premier Nobleman of the nation.

“ or pretence, of the law of Poyning’s, are unconstitutional and a grievance :—— That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king, and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance :—— That a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration, from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance :—— That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland makes a distinction, where there should be no difference, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself, unconstitutional and a grievance :—— That it is our decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men, that we will at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported, and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuits of redress speedy and effectual :—— That four members from each county of the province of Ulster (eleven to be a *quorum*) be, and are hereby appointed a committee till the next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province :—— That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.”

It was now seen, from the event, * that the call of the Dungannon meeting was not so rash and ill-advised as was supposed by many at the time. For those, or similar resolutions, were soon after adopted by every armed association in the kingdom. And on the 14th of April 1782, the duke of Portland superseded the earl of Carlisle in the government of Ireland: And on the 16th he sent the following message to both houses of parliament: “ I have
“ it in command from his majesty to inform this
“ house, that his majesty being concerned to find
“ that discontents and jealousies are prevailing
“ among his loyal subjects of this country, upon
“ matters of great weight and importance; his majesty recommends to this house to take the same
“ into their most serious consideration, in order to
“ make such a *final adjustment* as may give mutual
“ satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and
“ Ireland.”

Both houses, without delay, drew up addresses of thanks to his majesty for this most gracious message, in which, after declaring their rights, they lay before him the several causes of their discontents and jealousies. In consequence of which the Lord Lieutenant, in his speech from the throne on the 27th of May 1782, assures both houses that “ immediate
“ attention had been paid to their representations,
“ and that the British Legislature had concurred in
“ a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire
“ to gratify every wish expressed in their late addresses to the throne.—And that his Majesty had
“ given it in command to him to assure them of his
“ gracious disposition to give his royal assent to acts
“ to prevent the suppression of bills in the privy
“ council

* There is an old saying: *Facta eventus probat*. But there is another and a better: *Careat successibus opto quisquis ab eventu facta probanda putat*.

“ council of this kingdom, and the alteration of
“ them any where, and to limit the duration of the
“ act for the regulation and accommodation of his
“ majesty’s forces in this kingdom, to the term of
“ two years.”

In pursuance of these stipulations the act of 6 George I. was repealed by a British act 22 George III. and the other articles were adjusted by Irish acts. But it must be observed, that it was, at the time, objected to the requisition of the Irish parliament, that the repeal of the 6th of George I. did not give that sufficient security to the independency of the Irish legislature on that of England, which it was invited to make, by the unconditional message from the king, and from the Lord Lieutenant’s speech from the throne. For, as that act was a declaratory one, the repeal of it only removed the act from the British statute-book, but left the claim of right in the British parliament precisely as it was, before the sixth year of George the first’s reign. Now the right had, before that time, not only been claimed but exercised ; and the post-office act, and other acts, at that very time, remained unrepealed, which had been enacted under that assumption. It was therefore insisted on, that nothing less than an express renunciation, on the part of the British parliament, of any right whatever to legislate for Ireland, could give that full and complete security, which even national compacts can give.

It must also be observed, that in the address of thanks to the king for his gracious intentions above specified, the following paragraph was inserted: “ gratified in those particulars, we do assure your Majesty, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony.” To this it was objected, that it was unnecessary, as it did not apply to the speech, and that it pledged parliament to acquiesce in future with the measures

measures adopted at present. It was argued, that confining constitutional questions to mere acts of legislation was too narrow an idea ; as every act of State might involve a constitutional question. Instances were given of embargoes, and other obstructions to our trade, where it might seem to clash with that of England or Scotland. However, on the 23d of July 1782, the house of commons, in their address to the Lord Lieutenant, thus express themselves : “ At
 “ the close of this session we shall have seen, under
 “ your grace’s administration, the judges rendered
 “ independent of the crown ; the law for the punishment of mutiny and desertion abridged in duration, and so altered as to become a vindication
 “ of the constitution ; the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges of the land restored ; the vicious mode
 “ of passing laws, which was heretofore exercised
 “ in this country, reformed ; and the sole and exclusive right of legislation, external as well as
 “ internal, in the Irish parliament firmly asserted on
 “ the part of Ireland, and unequivocally acknowledged on the part of Great Britain.”

The following amendment was proposed to this address : “ with respect to the sixth of George the
 “ first, we must lament, that though in hope to
 “ quiet the people, this house without having seen
 “ or read the act of repeal, have declared that the
 “ British parliament have fully, finally and irrevocably acknowledged our sole and exclusive right
 “ to make laws for Ireland in all cases, external as
 “ well as internal ; yet we have much ground to
 “ doubt this hath not been sufficiently done, and
 “ to believe that the people of *Ireland* are growing
 “ more and more of that opinion.”

Upon this, two opposite opinions began to be supported with some heat in this country : the one in favour of what was done, the other in support of what ought to be done. But a circumstance soon occurred

occurred which left the former almost without a partisan; for they who could not, or would not, be convinced by argument, were silenced by the fact: a cause was removed by writ of error, from the King's-bench of Ireland, to that of England, where it was received and heard by Lord Mansfield; a judge whose opinion was conclusive upon the inefficacy of a *simple repeal**. The people, who, as usual, always

* To the First NEWRY REGIMENT.

GENTLEMEN,

I have ever contemplated with the utmost abhorrence, the perpetual mutiny bill. I met it at first with astonishment and indignation, and have encountered it in every stage with the most cordial detestation.

I conceived it an affront to your nation, a stab to her liberty—and a mockery of her public spirit. Confirmed in this opinion, by the argument advanced in support of the measure, I shall persist to encounter its malignity with renovated determination, and in the sincere hope, that a law cannot remain unexplained and unamended, which stands convicted by every principle of every free nation in the world.

I enter most entirely into those virtuous, and I will add moderate and humble wishes, which go to the establishment of your parliamentary independence. I am so fully possessed of your ancient and invaluable title to British privileges, that I conceive any thing short of the British Constitution is short of your Rights, and an insolent distinction between two kingdoms whose subjects are equal by nature, and equal by Franchise—certain to be involved in the same calamities, and therefore entitled to be consoled by the same privileges. In this creed and confidence, I shall not cease to hope that the time is at hand, when a TOTAL RENUNCIATION of supremacy, or assertion of parliamentary independency shall be obtained. The crisis—the interests of England—the moderated exertions of Ireland, and the connection of both, promise and demand it. In my humble province I shall not be wanting—and am, with the most sincere respect,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

December 15, 1781.

HENRY GRATTAN.

always decide first and then deliberate, began to ruminate on persons and things, on times and places, on circumstances and characters. Their indignation was only moderated by their contempt of a new example of apostacy, shocking to the feelings of a nation, fertile in renegadoes to public virtue.

In this fermenting state of the public mind, the British parliament, with a magnanimity becoming the great council of a great nation, passed a bill for removing all doubts, which had arisen or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislature and judicature. By 23d Geo. III. c. 28. it is declared by the king and both houses of the British parliament, “ that the right claimed by the people of Ireland, to be bound only by laws enacted by his majesty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which should be instituted in that kingdom, decided by his majesty’s courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, is established and ascertained for ever, and at no time after to be questioned. And that no writ of error or appeal should be received or adjudged by any court in Great Britain.”

For the better understanding the mode of passing bills at present, the following extracts may be useful. By 22 Geo. III. cap. 47. The chief governor and council shall certify all such bills, and none other, as both houses judge expedient to be enacted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal, without addition, diminution, or alteration.

2. All bills so certified, and returned under the great seal of Great Britain, without addition, diminution,

diminution, or alteration, and none other, shall pass in parliament of this kingdom, any former law, statute, or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

3. No bill shall be certified into Great Britain as a cause and consideration for holding a parliament; but parliaments may be holden although no such bill shall have been certified previous to meeting.

4. No parliament shall be holden until licence first had and obtained from his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal of Great Britain.

A P P E N D I X.

WHAT follows was, for the greater part, extracted from the papers found in the office of a late Secretary of State, soon after his decease, and were given to me by a friend in London, together with several original letters, from some men of the highest stations in this kingdom, from the year 1753 to 1780. The letters of Primate *Stone*, will throw a great light on the principles of men and parties in his time, as those of others, now alive, will discover the true springs of their own conduct, and of others with whom they acted.

But these we must reserve for our History of the times. In the mean while, an authentic copy of the Lord Lieutenant's commission and private instructions may not be unacceptable, together with a view of the several departments of the state, public offices, revenues, &c. interspersed with cursory observations.—

A P P E N D I X

WHAT follows was, for the greater part, extracted from the papers found in the office of a late Secretary of State, soon after his decease, and were given to me by a friend in London, together with several original letters, from some men of the highest station in this kingdom, from the year 1753 to 1780. The letters of Prime Ministers will throw a great light on the principles of men and parties in this time, as those of others, now alive, will discover the true springs of their own conduct, and of others with whom they acted. But these we must reserve for our History of the times. In the mean while, an authentic copy of the Lord Lieutenant's commission and private instructions may not be unacceptable, together with a view of the several departments of the State, and the offices, revenues, &c. interspersed with curious observations.

LETTERS PATENT,

APPOINTING

LIONEL, DUKE of DORSET,

To be his Majesty's Lieutenant General of Ireland,
and also his Majesty's Governor General of that
kingdom.—Dated December 15th, 1750.

GEORGE the Second by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith, &c.
To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

1. WHEREAS we by our letters patent, made under our great seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster the 15th day of November, in the twentieth year of our reign, did appoint, make, ordain, constitute, and depute our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor William Earl of Harrington our Lieutenant General of our kingdom of Ireland, and also our Governor General of that kingdom, to have, hold, enjoy, exercise, and occupy the said office, unto the said William Earl of Harrington, together with all and singular powers, authorities, preeminences, privileges, perquisites, profits, allowances, advantages and emoluments whatsoever to the said office belonging or appertaining, during our pleasure, as by the said Letters Patent (amongst divers powers and authorities, and other things therein contained, and thereby granted, relation being thereunto had) may more fully and at large appear.

2. Now know ye, that we have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine our said recited Letters Patent, and all singular matters and things therein contained and thereby granted.

3. AND further know ye, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, fidelity, circumspection and wisdom of our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor Lionel Duke of Dorset, by the advice of our council, and of our

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certain knowledge and meer motion, have appointed, made, ordained, constituted and deputed, and by these presents do appoint, make, ordain, constitute and depute the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant General of our kingdom of Ireland, and also our Governor General of our said kingdom.

4. To have, hold, enjoy, exercise, and occupy the said office unto the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, together with all and singular powers, authorities, privileges, perquisites, profits, allowances, advantages and emoluments whatsoever to the said office belonging or appertaining (except those which are hereafter excepted in these our letters patent) in as ample manner and form to all intents and purposes as the said office was held, exercised and enjoyed by the said William Earl of Harrington during our pleasure.

5. GIVING and granting unto our said Lieutenant and our Governor General by these presents, full power and authority to keep, and cause to be kept, our peace and the laws and customs of our kingdom aforesaid.

6. AND to correct and punish, and cause to be corrected and punished all and singular our liege subjects of our said kingdom, and other persons whatsoever receiving wages from us, or from our said Lieutenant General and our Governor General, and other persons whatsoever there, being in any manner delinquent and offending against us, the peace, customs or laws aforesaid, according to their demerits, conformable to the laws and customs aforesaid, by such ways and means as shall be most for our honour and advantage, and for the good government of our said kingdom, and of our liege people and subjects there, according to the discretion of our said Lieutenant General and our Governor General.

7. AND also to ordain, make and establish ordinances and statutes for the safe and good government of our kingdom aforesaid, according to the advice of our council there and to the laws and customs of our said kingdom; and

8. MOREOVER to make proclamations and duly to award executions, and all offenders and delinquents to correct, imprison, and set at liberty and deliver according to due course of law.

9. AND also by the said advice of our council to receive and admit to our faith and peace, all persons whatsoever now inhabiting and dwelling, or hereafter to inhabit and dwell within our kingdom aforesaid, who have been, are, or may be rebels and opposers to us, our laws and such customs aforesaid, and to grant, make, and give by such advice full pardon, remission, relaxation and absolution, as well general as special to such and every one of them asking, or desirous to have such pardon, as well for "homicide, "robbery, felony, murder, rapes, thefts, cheats, adhering to "enemies, outlawries, trespasses and contempts and other offences," whatsoever heretofore committed or hereafter to be committed, in our said kingdom by any such persons, and their forfeitures

feitures which may be pardoned by the laws of our kingdom of Ireland, and to grant, give and deliver, our firm peace unto them and every one of them, by our letters patent under the great seal which we use in our kingdom aforesaid in due form, and also to accept and receive the same persons and other persons whatsoever to fines and redemptions for such offences, and every one of them who ought, or are willing to make fines and redemptions, and to do and command to be done justice to all persons according to the laws and customs aforesaid.

10. AND also to punish all and singular rebels of our said kingdom, and others whatsoever hereafter invading our said kingdom, and intending to plunder, molest, or in any other manner whatsoever to destroy or lay waste our said kingdom, and our subjects of the same, and such as refuse to justify themselves according to the laws and customs aforesaid, if necessity require it to punish by our regal authority, and by such other ways and means as are most proper according to their demerits, and with death itself if the nature of the case require it, and for that cause to raise, summon and levy our subjects, and with our said subjects so levied, to march against the said rebels, and them to invade, conquer and chastise.

11. AND if occasion require it by the advice aforesaid, to let and demise their lands to others who shall be willing and intend to serve us, and also to treat with and make peace with them, and to restore them to our peace as often as there shall be occasion.

12. PROVIDED always nevertheless that upon every such demise and lease, hereafter to be made by the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, with the advice of our council aforesaid, by virtue of these our letters patent, the annual rent thereon due, be always reserved to us, our heirs and successors.

13. MOREOVER, we give and grant unto the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant General, and our Governor General, by virtue of these presents, full power and authority to pardon, absolve, remit and release, all treasons, and also felonies, murders, rapes there, and other cases and offences whatsoever, committed or to be committed by our subjects of our said kingdom of Ireland, or by other persons residing there (treasons which concern the destruction of our life only excepted), and to grant in our name, thereupon, our letters patent under our said great seal to any person whatsoever of our kingdom of Ireland, and to command our Chancellor or keeper of the seal of our said kingdom of Ireland to seal the same.

14. WE further give and grant, unto the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant General and our Governor General, full power and authority to prefer in whatsoever offices in our kingdom aforesaid, any persons whatsoever being of an English family, and them to make, depute and constitute, officers within our kingdom aforesaid, to have and to hold, to them and all and every of

them during our pleasure, together with the wages and rewards to the said office anciently due and accustomed (the office of Chancellor, Treasurer, Under-Treasurer, Justices of either Bench, and Barons of our Exchequer, the office of Master of the Rolls, the office of Treasurer at War, the office of Marshal, the office of Master of the Ordnance, and Clerk of the Cheque, the office of President of Munster and Connaught, and the office of Attorney and Solicitor General of our said kingdom of Ireland excepted; and also except all officers in our army in our kingdom of Ireland aforesaid, and all offices of Governors, and other officers whatsoever of any of our forts and castles in our kingdom of Ireland aforesaid, all which said offices above excepted, we do by these presents wholly reserve to ourselves the full and absolute power of disposing and granting from time to time).

15. WE have also granted and by these presents do grant unto the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant General and our Governor General, power during our pleasure, to give, grant and confer to whatsoever fit persons he shall please, all Ecclesiastical offices, as well with cure, as without cure (that is to say) Vicarages, Parsonages, Prebends, Chanterships, Chaplainships of hospitals, Arch-deaconries and other benefices whatsoever (the nomination, presentation and granting of Archbishops, Bishops and Deans always excepted) as well in cathedral as Collegiate churches, hospitals and parish churches in whatsoever place within our kingdom of Ireland, by whatsoever title now vacant, and howsoever belonging to our presentation, disposition, or donation.

16. AND to ratify, approve and confirm, the estates and possessions of all and singular persons who are possessed of any of them, and to ratify, approve and confirm the privileges, liberties, immunities and grants, heretofore made or granted by our predecessors, or any of them, as shall seem most expedient to our said Lieutenant General, and our Governor General, by the advice and consent of our Council in our kingdom aforesaid.

17. WE have granted further and by these presents do grant to the said Lionel Duke of Dorset our Lieutenant General and our Governor General, power to receive the fealties, provisions and renunciations of Archbishops and Bishops heretofore made, ordained and accustomed, or hereafter to be made ordained and appointed, and to receive in our name all other things due to us, and to command the said Archbishops, Bishops and every one of them to deliver the temporalities to our Chancellor or keeper of the seal of our said kingdom of Ireland for the time being, with all and singular rights, emoluments, profits and revenues reserved to us by reason of the vacancies of the said Benefices, Dignities, Archbishoprics, or Bishoprics.

18. AND

18. AND also to receive in our name homage of all and singular our tenants and subjects whatsoever as well spiritual as temporal, in our kingdom of Ireland aforesaid, and to command their lands and tenements of their inheritance to be delivered to our Chancellor or keeper of the seal of our said kingdom of Ireland for the time being, and to remove our hands from off them.

19. AND to provide and take sufficient and necessary victualling for the expence of his household and of his soldiers, in whatsoever place within the said kingdom of Ireland, by the purveyors of his household and others, his servants, together with sufficient carriage for the same, as well within liberties as without, paying a reasonable price for the same according to the form of the statute heretofore made concerning such provisions, unless it is now otherwise agreed or hereafter may be otherwise agreed by composition made with the inhabitants of the counties within the parts commonly called the English Pale, and other counties without the said parts, and that our said Lieutenant General and our Governor General, shall and may have yearly the sum of money heretofore agreed on in the said composition in compensation and recompence for such victualling, to be provided and taken by the purveyors of his household, which composition we think fit to be observed for the benefit of our subjects.

20. AND also to summon and cause to be summoned and held a parliament according to the laws, statutes and customs of our kingdom of Ireland whensoever it shall seem most expedient to him. Nevertheless our consent in that behalf being always first asked and obtained.

21. AND also to prorogue and adjourn the parliament as often as necessity shall require, and fully to determine, dissolve and put an end to the same; and to fine and punish according to the laws and customs of our kingdom of Ireland whatsoever persons who being so summoned shall be absent and not hindered on any lawful occasion.

22. WE have granted moreover and by these presents do grant to our said Lieutenant and our Governor General full and sufficient power and authority to compel all officers accountable (the Treasurer and under Treasurer of our said kingdom only excepted) to deliver in and make up their accounts before our said Treasurer and Under-Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer of our said kingdom of Ireland.

23. ALSO to enquire, and cause enquiry to be made by such ways and means as to him shall seem most meet, of whatsoever goods and chattels, which they or any other persons, had or may have, who have forfeited to us, or any of our ancestors or progenitors, or shall hereafter forfeit, and which are or shall be concealed from us.

24. AND to do, exercise, execute, and ordain all and singular other things which do or ought to belong to the office of our
Lieutenant

Lieutenant General and our Governor General by the right usage and custom of our said kingdom, and which may be necessary for the good government, safety and preservation of the peace of our said kingdom, and the quiet of our people there, and the recovery of our rights in our kingdom of Ireland (saving as is above reserved), and to do, execute and ordain all other things for us and in our name, in our said kingdom of Ireland, as we might or could do if we were there present in our proper person.

25. WE give moreover to the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant General and our Governor General, power and authority, to command and make use of all our ships whatsoever, or other vessels which now are in our service or hereafter shall be, and shall be sent upon any occasion about the coasts of our said kingdom of Ireland, for the defence of our said kingdom, and for our service and the safeguard of our said kingdom, as to him shall seem expedient according to his discretion, and by the advice of our Council of our said kingdom of Ireland, unless we by any special commission of us or of our commissioners for executing the office of our Admiral of Great Britain, or of our Admiral of Great Britain for the time being, have or shall give any special instructions, commands and services by any particular order given to the commander and captains of our said ships, or otherwise to be sent to them.

26. WE have also appointed the said Lionel Duke of Dorset our commander and Captain General of our army as well now being as hereafter to be in our said kingdom of Ireland during our pleasure, with the allowances therefore due, and accustomed (except as before is excepted and reserved), and we do grant by these presents to the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, Captain General of our army there, full power and authority of making, ordaining and constituting laws, ordinances and proclamations from time to time as the case shall require, according to the laws and customs of our said kingdom of Ireland, for the good government of our army aforesaid, and of all persons whatsoever under the command and government of the same Captain-general of our army, and of executing the same laws, ordinances and proclamations, and of enforcing due execution thereof, and also of inflicting, adjudging and awarding, such corporal pains, imprisonment, fines, forfeitures and all such and pains penalties whatsoever against and upon, all delinquents, or offenders against such laws, ordinances, and proclamations, as to the same Governor, and our Captain General of our army shall seem requisite and necessary, all which laws, ordinances, and proclamations, so as aforesaid to be made, our will is shall be observed under such penalties as shall be contained in the same; and by these presents, we give unto him full power and authority, of using and exercising within our said kingdom, if need shall be.

27. MARTIAL

27. MARTIAL law, in cases whereby the laws of our kingdom of Ireland it may be exercised; and also of substituting, assigning and appointing under him, within our said kingdom, by our letters patent to be made under our great seal of our said kingdom, such and so many Marshals, Commissaries and other officers, to exercise and execute the law of arms, or martial law, as to our Lieutenant-general and our Governor-general shall from time to time seem expedient to exercise, execute, and use the said laws as often as need or necessity shall require, and of administering an oath, and of doing and performing, by himself or by other persons, all other things which do in any manner appertain to the execution of the laws aforesaid. And because it seems to us very necessary that our said Lieutenant-general and our Governor-general should attend our royal person, concerning affairs of great moment in his proper person,

28. THEREFORE, we do further give, and by these presents do grant unto the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant-general and Governor-general full power and authority of naming and appointing by our letters patent hereafter to be made, under our great seal of our said kingdom of Ireland, in our name, from time to time, such person or such two or three persons and the survivor or survivors of them, as our said Lieutenant-general and Governor-general in this behalf shall think proper, to be our deputy, or deputy's justice or justices during our pleasure, for the government of our said kingdom of Ireland, in his absence, until our said Lieutenant and Governor General, shall return into our said kingdom of Ireland, for the government of the same as aforesaid: We will nevertheless that in the same letters patent, it be provided and given in command, in our name, to such person or persons, so as aforesaid to be made deputy or deputies, justice or justices, in his absence, only that it shall not be lawful for any such deputy or deputies, justice or justices, to pay or deliver out our treasure or money, to any person whatsoever, by the authority or warrant of such deputy or deputies, justice or justices alone, but that all and all manner of orders and warrants, for the payment of our treasure and money, shall be made and signed, not only under the proper hand or hands of such deputy or deputies, justice or justices, in his absence only, but also under the hands of our right well-beloved and trusty counsellors the Chief Baron of our Exchequer, the Chancellor of our Exchequer, and our principal Secretary of State there for the time being, or at least under the hands of two of them.

29. WE strictly charge and command, by these presents all and singular, Arch-bishops, Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Justices, Knights, Freemen and others our subjects of our kingdom of Ireland aforesaid, that they be attending or assisting, aiding and advising unto the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, our Lieutenant-general and our Governor-general

ral in our said kingdom, and that they be obedient to him in all things as becometh and shall become them.

30. PROVIDED, nevertheless, and by these presents, we do grant, appoint and ordain, that the most Rev. Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely beloved counsellor George Arch-bishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellors Robert Baron Newport of Newport, our Chancellor of that our kingdom of Ireland, and Henry Boyle, Esq; Speaker of our House of Commons in our said kingdom, lately appointed and constituted by virtue of certain letters patent made under our great seal of our kingdom of Ireland aforesaid, Justices and Governors-general of our said kingdom of Ireland in the absence of the said William Earl of Harrington, and until the said William Earl of Harrington should return into our said kingdom of Ireland, or during our pleasure, shall and may be our Justices, and Governors-general of our said kingdom of Ireland; and that they may do and perform all and singular the matters and things in the said letters patent last mentioned contained, according to the tenor of those letters patent, until the arrival of the said Lionel Duke of Dorset, into our said kingdom of Ireland, or during our pleasure, or until other signification of our will shall be made by us under our great seal of Great Britain, or of our kingdom of Ireland; and that the said George Arch-bishop of Armagh, Robert Baron Newport of Newport, and Henry Boyle, may collect, receive and levy, and have to their own use all and singular such fees, profits, revenues, wages, perquisites, rewards, commodities and emoluments, whatsoever and no others, from henceforth, and until the arrival of the said Lionel Duke of Dorset into our said kingdom of Ireland, or during our pleasure, or until other signification shall be made of our will, as they might and could collect, receive, levy, and to have to their own use from henceforth, until the said William Earl of Harrington should arrive within our said kingdom of Ireland, by reason of their said offices, if the said recited letters patent granted to the said William Earl of Harrington as aforesaid, bearing date the 15th day of November, in the twentieth year of our reign, had remained in full force and virtue, and had not been revoked and determined by these presents. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 15th day of December, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign.

By writ of Privy Seal,

YORKE and YORKE.

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR

Our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin, and counsellor LIONEL DUKE of DORSET, whom we have appointed to be our Lieutenant General and General Governor of our kingdom of Ireland. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 24th day of December 1750, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign.

HAVING upon serious consultations for the peace, prosperity and good government of our kingdom of Ireland, made choice of you for the effecting those ends, as a person of approved loyalty, wisdom, courage, moderation and integrity, to be our Lieutenant to represent our Royal person there; and having for the authorizing you therein, already caused Letters Patent to be passed unto you, under our great seal of Great Britain, we doubt not but you will pursue all prudent courses for the good government and increase of the profit of the same; and for the better enabling you thereunto, we do hereby give you full power and authority to keep the peace, the laws, and commendable customs of our said kingdom; to govern all our people there, to chastise and correct offenders, and to countenance and encourage such as shall do well. And we do also think fit to prescribe unto you some things which will be necessary for you to observe in the government. And therefore, we do hereby direct and enjoin you,

1. That you forthwith, with what convenient speed may be, inform yourself particularly of the present state of that our kingdom, in all the parts thereof, and what is therein amiss, and by what means the same may be best provided for, and thereof transmit to us an account in writing, to the end we may receive a perfect knowledge of the same.

2. And

2. And for as much as the first and principal foundation of good success in all our actions, doth rest upon the true service of God ; we do especially require it of you that above all things you endeavour to settle matters so in the church that Almighty God may be well served ; in order whereunto you are to take care that the spiritual livings in our gift as they shall become void be supplied by pious and orthodox persons, who being of good repute, may reside upon their benefices, and you are also to persuade other patrons of livings to do the like, and to avoid all manner of corruption in bestowing the same.

3. We do well know how much it concerns the happiness of our subjects, as well as the reputation of our government, that there may be an equal and impartial administration of justice in our several courts of judicature of that our kingdom ; and therefore it must be your particular care whom we have placed in supreme authority under us in that kingdom, to enquire diligently into the same, how the Judges and Ministers in our several courts of judicature do behave themselves in the discharge of their respective trusts, to the end that such as are found to deserve ill may be removed, and their places filled with persons of better merit.

4. We having thought fit to appoint Commissioners to manage our whole revenue in that our kingdom ; our pleasure is, that you do from time to time assist, countenance and support, our said Commissioners, and the officers employed by them, upon all occasions, and as justice and our service shall require ; and you shall also take care, that all our Judges, Officers and Ministers, more especially the Barons of our Court of Exchequer, do give them all fitting dispatch, and countenance ; you shall also frequently call upon them to give an account of their proceedings in the management of the commission and the execution of the trust we have committed to them, of which you are from time to time to transmit an account to us.

5. In the survey of escheated or concealed lands, you shall take care that a better valuation be made for us than heretofore hath been accustomed ; and that our surveyor certify no value upon any particular before a view and inquisition be first made and taken of the land, either by himself or his sufficient deputy authorized.

6. Whensoever there shall be any letters from us, for disposing of any money to public uses, and there shall be other letters at the same time for the payment of any money to any particular persons, in all such cases you shall prefer the public letters before the private.

7. In case it should happen at any time that our revenue should not hold out to pay the whole establishment ; you shall take care that the same be not applied to the payment of any pensions until the rest of the civil and military list be first paid ; and if afterwards
the

the same will not hold out to the payment of the pensions, you shall cause a proportionable abatement to be made out of each of them.

8. You shall give no orders upon any letters which shall come from us, for granting any money or lands, or releasing or abating of any rents, or other sums of money due to us, in our said kingdom, unless a petition have been first presented unto us, which petition is either to be recommended by you, or the same to be transmitted to you by one of our principal Secretaries of State, and your sense and opinion is to be had thereupon; afterwards such petition shall be referred to our Commissioners of our Treasury, or our high Treasurer of this our realm for the time being, who are to be made acquainted with what you shall write either in recommending such petition, or upon the transmission of any such to you; and our said Commissioners report, or the report of our high Treasurer for the time being, is to be had thereupon before any letter or order be signed.

9. You shall as often as you see convenient, order an exact muster to be taken of all our forces there, that so it may appear if each regiment, company, or troop be effectually of the number it ought to be, and which we allow for upon the pay rolls; taking care it may be done at different times, and at such and so many convenient places of rendezvous as may not in any wise endanger the safety of the garrisons during the time the soldiers shall be so drawn out; and you shall then and there cause the following oath, and no other, (except such as are prescribed by act of Parliament) to be administered to all the officers and soldiers of the army, who have not already taken the same, and to all Governors of towns, forts and castles, who shall be made hereafter, and to such others as you shall think fit; and such of them as shall refuse the same oath, you are to cashier and dismiss the service.

The OATH of FIDELITY,

To be taken by every OFFICER, SOLDIER, and GOVERNOR, as above-mentioned.

I swear to be true to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second, and to serve him honestly and faithfully in the defence of his person, crown and dignity, against all his enemies, and opposers whatsoever, and to observe and obey, his Majesty's orders and the orders of the Generals and officers set over me by his Majesty.

So help me God.

10. Whereas

10. Whereas we have thought fit to retain to ourselves the power of granting commissions to any officer in our army, or to any Governor or other officer of any of our forts or castles in that our kingdom of Ireland, and to reserve the same to our own disposal; and it being also our intention to sign for the future, with our own hand, all commissions for such offices or employments, when any of them shall become vacant, you shall forthwith advise us thereof; and our will and pleasure is, that at such times as you shall be attending our Royal Person, you do present the commissions for such offices and employment, unto us for our royal signature, and do countersign the same; and that in your absence in our said kingdom, they be presented unto us, and countersigned by one of our principal Secretaries of State; and that the fees which should have become due and payable to such Secretary of State, upon such commissions so to be by him presented and countersigned, shall nevertheless be paid to your Secretary.

11. You are likewise to take care that our forces be quartered by such fit rules as have been heretofore observed, and so as may be with the least burthen and inconvenience to our subjects, and to that end you are to give strict charge, that they be orderly in their quarters, according to such exact discipline, as you shall think fit to prescribe them, and that the officers be not allowed or permitted to detain or keep in their hands the soldiers pay after it shall be due to, and actually paid out for them; and that no officer be permitted to be absent from his command, without licence first obtained from you; and in case any of the officers of our said forces, shall at any time misbehave himself, you shall either cause him to be tried in due manner, or else immediately to be suspended as you shall find fit, till you have represented the matter to us, and received our pleasure upon it.

12. Being informed that there have been frequent duels and quarrels between the officers of our army there, we have thought fit, in order to prevent the same for the future, hereby to authorize and empower you, to cashier from time to time, all such officers as shall send, receive, or deliver any challenge, or give any real affront to any other, the same being made appear to you; and our pleasure also is, that you declare to such officer or officers so offending, that he or they shall never more be employed in our service.

13. You shall with what speed conveniently you may, cause a survey and account to be taken of the present state of our castles, forts and places of our magazines, and also of the military store and train of artillery. And you are to report to us what fortifications are fit to be kept up, and which demolished; and for the better supplying of our stores from henceforth with powder, you shall endeavour to erect and set up the art of making saltpetre within that our kingdom.

14. You

14. You shall in all things endeavour to advance and improve the trade of that our kingdom, so far as may consist with the laws made and in force, for the welfare and benefit of commerce in this our realm of our Great Britain; and more especially with those which relate to our foreign plantations; and we particularly recommend to you the improvement and encouragement of the linen manufacture in that our kingdom.

15. You shall give all lawful encouragement to all protestant strangers resorting into that our kingdom; and if a considerable number of them shall be willing to establish themselves in any great cities or towns, or in any other fit places for trade and manufactures, upon representation of the same to us, we shall give orders that they shall enjoy such privileges as may consist with the laws and peace of that our kingdom.

16. You must be careful more particularly to renew a strict and severe prohibition against the transportation of wool to any parts beyond the seas, causing sufficient security to be taken, that whatsoever quantities shall be at any time shipped for Great Britain, be truly brought and landed here, and not carried (as we are informed is but too commonly done) into foreign parts; for the effectual preventing whereof, our pleasure is, that you take strict order that all such bonds as shall become forfeited, be with all vigour and faithfulness prosecuted against the offenders without collusion or connivance in those entrusted with that prosecution; and for the better discovery of all therein, you shall cause an exact account of all such bonds, to be from three months to three months transmitted to our Commissioners of our Treasury or High Treasurer of this our realm for the time being, which we will direct, shall be compared with certificates from the officers of our customs of the several ports of this our kingdom of Great Britain.

17. You shall by the best means you can, prevent a general abuse we hear hath been committed in that our kingdom, by the unlawful making, coining and vending of small money, for change, much to the loss and wrong of our subjects, and of ill consequence to the government, if not remedied.

18. And that you may be better enabled to discharge the great trust we have reposed in you, by committing the administration of that our kingdom to you, we do declare

That we will not admit of any particular complaint of injustice or oppression, against any in our said kingdom, unless it appear that the party have first made his address to you.

That the places in the Chief Governor's gift, shall be left freely to your disposal; and accordingly we will not pass them to any person upon suit made to us here.

That no new offices shall be erected in that our kingdom, till you have been made acquainted therewith, and certified your opinion upon the matter to us.

That

That no letters or orders from hence for the payment of any Money shall be directed immediately to the Receiver of that our kingdom, but to you ; and no payment made upon any such letters or orders from hence, without your warrant thereupon, shall be allowed upon the Receiver General's accounts.

That no patent for granting land, money or the releasing or abating of any Rents in our said kingdom, shall be passed here, without you have first been made acquainted therewith, which rule we have directed to be entered in our signet office, and other offices here, that may be concerned therein.

19. And we do also leave it wholly to you to give licence of absence out of our said kingdom to any Counsellor, Bishop, Governor, or other Officer of State or of the Army, or to any of the Judges or the learned Counsel.

20. When any vacancy shall happen of any of the ecclesiastical or civil office or place which we have reserved to our own disposal, and is excepted in your commission, you shall forthwith advise us thereof, and also recommend to us a fit person for the said ; place and we do hereby declare that we will not dispose of any such vacancy till we have received your recommendation, which if we shall not agree to, but think fit to confer the said vacant office or place on any other person, we will not grant or sign any letter for granting the same till we shall know whether you have any objection to make to it.

21. You shall from time to time inform us truly and impartially of every man's particular diligence and care in our service there, to the end we may bestow marks of our favour upon such as do well, in order whereunto our express pleasure is, that you do not grant any confirmation of a reversion of any office or employment in that our kingdom, or suffer any new grant of a reversion to pass hereafter ; and you are to take care that all vacant offices or places be granted only during our pleasure. And, whereas we have resolved that for the future no places or employments, whether civil or military, shall be sold, you are not to permit the same accordingly ; and if any such place or employment shall be bought, such person so buying it, shall immediately upon the discovery of it be discharged from such place or employment ; and if any person shall receive or take any more money than the accustomed fees, for such place or employment, such person shall be discharged from his place and employment, and be further prosecuted according to law.

22. You shall give no orders upon any letters signed by us for granting money or lands, pensions, titles of honour, or employment in Ireland, unless such letters have been first entered at our signet office here, whereby the disorder in procuring our grant of the same thing to several persons will be prevented.

23. You shall direct all propositions moving from you, touching the matters of the revenue, to our Commissioners of our Treasury,
or

or our High Treasurer of this our realm, for the time being, and all other dispatches for that our kingdom, to one of our principal Secretaries of State; and we do declare that we will have it done by the hands of John Duke of Bedford.

24. If any warrants, letters, orders or directions, shall hereafter come unto you from us, or our Privy Council, requiring the performance of any thing contrary to our directions in our establishment or these instructions, we do hereby give you authority to forbear, if you think fit, the execution thereof until, you shall first give us information of the reasons inducing you thereunto, and thereupon receive our directions therein, and further declaration of our pleasure touching the same.

25. There having been several proclamations issued, by which all papists there were required to bring in their arms, to be delivered into our stores, and deposited there for our service; you are to inform yourself what hath been done in pursuance of these proclamations, and to take care that the same be duly executed, according to the intentions therein declared, so that no papist there, except such as are permitted by the capitulations granted to any town or place that surrendered itself, may be suffered to keep any arms or powder without licence either from us, or you, first had and obtained; and you are to endeavour to prevent all abuses in misconstruing the extent of those capitulations, and to restrain as much as may be such concessions of keeping arms.

26. We think fit to recommend to you the settling the militia in all the counties of our said kingdom, and you are accordingly to apply yourself with all diligence, to the perfect establishment of the same, according to such rules and in such manner as has been hitherto observed, as far as shall be consistent with the present posture of affairs and the good of our service, and the laws of that kingdom.

27. You shall not give directions for the reversing any outlawries, but upon application to you in behalf of any person whose circumstances may deserve our commiseration or clemency, you are to represent their respective cases to us, and expect our pleasure therein.

28. You are to take care that the articles formerly granted to Galway, Limerick or any other place upon their surrender to the late King William of glorious memory, be construed according to the strict meaning and intention of them upon all questions or doubts which may arise, without allowing any favour to the persons comprehended in them, or extending them further than in honour and justice we are obliged to do.

29. Whereas by your commission you are empowered to call a Parliament, in that our kingdom, you are nevertheless hereby directed and required not to summon a Parliament without our particular directions.

G. R.

Though

Though these instructions as well as the commission on which they are attendant, contain many things which under the present circumstances and course of business, ought to be entirely expunged; yet they are drawn with so much equity and wisdom, as reflect the highest honour on the author of such a system of government; however, as so many clauses are retained in them, which are contrary to the subsisting laws and usages, it is to be presumed that they have not been much looked into of late years, but considered and passed of meer matters of official form. In propriety, the commission and instructions should have kept peace with the laws; and as the latter were altered, the others should have been amended accordingly.—This would have freed them from comment and inconsistency, and would have rendered the situation of the chief Governor, more easy and more honourable, by making his power unimpeachable, by shewing him his duty without incertitude or perplexity, and by fixing his attention only in the great objects of his delegation and employment.

OF THE PUBLIC OFFICES.

THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

The office of Secretary of State, and of the Lord Lieutenant's chief Secretary, were anciently the same, and executed by one person, but since the Revolution, they have been totally separate and distinct.—The office of Secretary of State, is now almost a sinecure, and does no other business but that of putting the signet to Fiats. It is worth about £1600 per annum, and is not only granted for life to the present possessor, but is granted in reversion.

To the department of the Lord Lieutenant's Chief Secretary, belongs all orders whatsoever, which relate in any manner to Military Business.

All orders about Barracks.

All orders to the Board of Ordnance.

To the Quarter-master General.

To the Adjutant General.

To

To the Board of General Officers.

To the Governors of Forts and Garrisons, for Courts-martial.

All orders to the Muster-office.

To the Commanders in Chief.

All orders relative to the Army-accounts.

To the Half-pay Officers Widows.

Exchanges in the Army, &c.

All Commissions for the Army pass through this Office.

All orders for Reviews, Marches and Encampments.

All Warrants for Money, for payments of the Civil and Military Establishment, except the sums past in Council by Warrant of Concordatum.

All orders to the Treasury, for Payment of Extraordinary Charges and Military Contingencies.

Royal Hospital, Soldiers Infirmary.

All correspondence with the Commissioners of the Revenue, Board of Works, Board of Accounts and other Offices.

All correspondence with England, &c.

The Secretary of State.

Lords of the Treasury.

Lords of the Admiralty.

Secretary at War.

Victualing Office, &c.

All matters relative to the Administration of Justice.

Warrants for Pardon and Reprieves.

References to Judges and King's Council.

On Civil Business.

Militia.

Grants of Peerages.

Grants of Bishoprics.

Grants of Deanries, &c.

And every thing that comes under the head of Civil Affairs.

In the Province of Leinster and Connaught only.

The Civil Affairs of the Provinces of Ulster and Munster, as also the Warrants for Wool-licences, and some inferior matters belonging to the Ulster Secretary's Office, which is properly a branch of the Chief Secretary's, though it has never been put upon the Establishment.

N. B. When the Undertakers were at the head of affairs, they arranged the business of parliament, and did not suffer the Lord Lieutenant to interfere with them in that point; but of late years, since the new system has been established, the management of the House of Commons, and the conduct of business *there*, has fallen intirely to the care of the Chief Secretary.

OF THE TREASURY.

The Treasury is a branch of the Treasury of England, and subordinate to it.—The Lord High Treasurer's office is now merely an employment of honour, with a salary of £356 per ann.—The office of Vice-treasurers, who are appointed by the Crown, and not by the Lord High Treasurer, is also a sine cure, but of great emolument.—The business is transacted by their Officers, the Deputy Vice-treasurer and fellows.

They are accountable to Parliament for all sums of money which they receive and pay. The Deputy Vice-treasurer has an establishment sent to him signed by the King, containing the amount of Pensions, the Civil and Military Lists, agreeable to which the several Agents make their demands monthly for the subsistence of the Army, (the Arrears and Cloathing being paid at other particular periods) and the several persons who have employments or offices on the Establishment, return their Debentures and Government Warrants, which are issued by the Auditor General, and Muster Master General, to the Deputy Vice-treasurer, who accordingly enters the payment to be made in his counter cash-book, which the persons having demands on the Treasury, sign on a line opposite to their respective names, and to the sums to be paid, as a voucher to the Teller, who pays the cash, the Debentures and Government Warrants remaining with the Deputy Vice-treasurer as his voucher to the Commissioners of the Public Accounts, on his making up and passing his accounts before them, which he does quarterly; after which he lodges them in the Auditor General's office.

All other sums paid by order of Government, either by King's Letters, Concordatum Warrants, Warrants for Military Contingencies, &c. or advances to Regiments going abroad, are either entered on the Teller's compting-book, and signed for in the above manner, or paid by the Deputy Vice-treasurer drawing acquittances on different Collectors of the King's Revenue; in which case such payments do not appear on the Teller's book, he not being charged with them. The vouchers to the Collectors are these acquittances on passing their accounts.

The troops quartered in Dublin, are paid by the Teller in specie; the troops quartered in the Country have Exchequer Acquittances sent down to them monthly for their subsistence, drawn on the Collector nearest to their quarters.

The Army Arrears, Cloathing, the Civil Establishment, King's Letters, &c. are paid by the Teller in Dublin.

The Deputy Vice-treasurer has a salary of £500 per ann. from the Vice-Treasurers, and £50 on passing each Public Account, which

which is done quarterly, besides £25 on each account for his Clerks; he has five Guineas on each Cloathing Warrant, and one per cent. allowed him on the gross amount of the Cloathing.—The Vice-treasurer likewise allow him £500 per ann. for his Clerks, and £34 per ann. for the House-keeper.

It is in a great measure in the Deputy Vice-treasurer's power to chuse the time for drawing Acquittances, or for entering the Payments to be made by the Teller, either in Parliamentary Grants, or on Government Warrants. There are considerable advantages which belong to the Deputy Vice-treasurer's office, arising from monies issued, but not paid, from exchange, on monies remitted.

The Teller of the Exchequer has a salary from the Vice-treasurers of £260 per ann. but no allowance for his Clerks.

The Teller's profit is solely what may accrue from the balance remaining in his hands, either on the General Revenue, or on the surplus of the Loan Duties, as long as such surplus is under £30,000; when it amounts to that sum, it is applied to the payment of the principal of the debt, by drawing the Debentures. N. B. These several establishments much altered of late!

OF THE REVENUE BOARDS.

All the branches of the King's Revenue whatsoever are managed by the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, who also have under their care the Loan Duties and Appropriated Duties, although in those last the Crown has no concern. All officers of Customs, Excise, Hearth Money, &c. are appointed by the different Boards, according to their respective duty, but no Officer can act, till approved of by the Lord Lieutenant, whose Chief Secretary signs the approbation at the foot of each Commission.

OF THE BOARD OF ORDNANCE.

This Board, like the Board of Ordnance in England, is divided into two branches, the Civil and the Military; formerly the whole charge of it amounted to about £7000 per annum; but in the Duke of Bedford's Administration, it was put on another footing, and erected into its present form, and trebled in expence nearly.

BOARD OF WORKS.

This Board was also erected by the Duke of Bedford, and consists of seven Commissioners; they have under their care and inspection the Castle of Dublin, the Barracks, and all Public Works and Buildings, except the Forts and Fortifications, which

are in the Department of the Ordnance; when this Office was instituted, the Surveyor General's was abolished.

BOARD OF ACCOUNTS.

The Board of Accounts, which consists of five Commissioners, was erected by Lord Townshend.

The Chancellor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Barons of the Exchequer, are Commissioners of the Treasury Accounts, under the Act of Henry VII.—But this new Board is to Audit, Examine and Check all other Accounts.

Besides those Boards above-mentioned, there is a Court of Admiralty, a Board of Revenue Appeals, &c. but it is unnecessary to go into a farther detail of matters of this kind, as I imagine enough has been said to give a general idea of the Policy and Administration of Ireland. And it should be observed, that many alterations in almost every department have taken place since these statements were originally made.

A VIEW OF THE REVENUES OF IRELAND.

When HENRY II. became Sovereign of Ireland, he considered himself as intitled to the same Duties, Customs and Taxes from his Subjects here, as from those in England; and these were,

1. Antient Demefne Lands.
2. Vacant Bishoprics, Abbeys and Priories.
3. Yearly Terms of Counties, Towns and Boroughs.
4. Prizes and Customs for Duties on Merchandize, Imported and Exported, and Duties on Vessels trading from place to place.
5. Wardship, Marriage, Relief and other Profits arising from the Feudal Tenure.
6. Prizes, Purveyance and Pre-emption.
7. Fines, Amerciaments and *oblata*, with what we now call the Casual Revenue.

There

There were besides many other taxes, such as Aids, Scutages, Hydages and Carucage, which were sometimes imposed and levied by the sole prerogative of the Prince, in cases of extraordinary necessity or emergency.

During a very long period, the frequent Rebellions in Ireland occasioned a much greater expence than the ancient Revenue at common law could supply; the Crown was often obliged to employ the Treasurers of England, upon Irish service, and affirmed, that the war with Tyrone cost Queen Elizabeth two Millions sterling; but as nothing could be more reasonable, than that Ireland should contribute towards its own support and defence, subsidies were from time to time granted for those purposes.

From the reign of Henry VII. to the reign of James I. the *subsidy* consisted of a Land-tax only, being 13s. 6d. payable out of every Plow-land, occupied and manured within Ireland; but afterwards the English method for taxing persons for their reputed Estates was adopted at the rate of four shillings in the pound upon Land, and 2s. 8d. in the pound upon Goods; at this distance of time, it is not easy to determine exactly how much a subsidy in Ireland was computed at; however, it is not now very material, as no subsidy *ex nomine* has been granted there, for above an hundred years past.

Such, however, was the antient state of the Revenue in Ireland, which was the more necessary to be deduced from the beginning, as some of the old shreds still remain. But at present, the Revenue of Ireland is composed of the three following branches—

1. The Hereditary Revenue.
2. The Additional Duties.
3. The Appropriated Duties.

1st. The Hereditary Revenue, so called, because vested in the King, his Heirs and Successors for ever, and may be divided into two classes, the Ancient and the Modern.

The Ancient consists of such Revenues as the King was entitled to at common law, viz.

- The Crown Rents.
- The Composition Rents.
- The Light-house Duties.
- The Casual Revenue.

The

The Modern consists of such Revenues as have been granted by several Acts of Parliament, viz.

The Old Poundage.

Quit-Rents.

Excise.

Customs, or Tonnage and Poundage.

Hearth-Money.

Ale Licences.

Wine and Strong-water Licences.

Alnage Duties.

The first Article of the *Ancient*, is the

CROWN RENTS.

These are certain Rents reserved to the Crown, in grants made by the King, of his demesne and other lands, of Rectories, Fairs, Markets, Ferries, Fisheries, Towns and Boroughs.—Henry II. in his distribution of Lands in Ireland, among the first adventurers, reserved no part for the support and defence of the State, or for the honour and dignity of the Crown, but granted them at large, without any stipulation of rent or service; however, by construction of law, they must have been held by Knights service in Capite.—If the Grantees had obtained entire possession of those Lands, and transmitted them to posterity—Crown Rent would probably never have existed; but the truth is, that the ancient Irish proprietors actually held at that time, and for a long time after, a great part of what the Crown had taken upon itself to grant away.—And the misconduct of the Grantees and their successors, soon furnished the Crown with a pretence for recalling the former grants, and of making new ones on better conditions.

Some grants were made by Edward I. and II. by Richard II. and other Princes, with certain reservations of Rents, but even these were so improvident, that Sir Edward Poynings' Parliament, in Henry VII's reign, found it necessary to resume them.

As the operation of English Laws was confined to the pale, the Collection of the Revenue must have been narrowly circumscribed, and the Crown Rent inconsiderable.

But when Queen Elizabeth had in a great measure subdued the kingdom, this branch of Revenue was soon greatly augmented; for she granted immense Tracts of the forfeited Lands, to a variety of Undertakers, reserving a certain Rent, payable to the Crown for ever.

This

This policy was followed by her Successors, and it appears that for the Ulster grants, King James I. received a Rent of 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* on every 1000 Acres planted with British Tenants, of 8*l.* if planted with Irish, and of 10*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* if the Grantee was an Irish native.—Those who held 2000 Acres, held by Knights service in Capite, those who held 1500 Acres, held by Knights service, as of the Castle of Dublin, and those who held 1000 Acres, held in common Soccage.—The Forfeitures in Leinster, Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's Counties, not disposed of by Elizabeth, were distributed by King James among the Natives, and the British Undertakers in smaller proportions, but all under certain reserved Rents, payable to the Crown for ever; in like manner were granted Rectories, Markets, Fairs, Towns and Boroughs, subject to reserved Rents; the Mass of all, which constitutes what is properly called the Crown Rents, amounts to between £14,000 and £15,000 per annum.

COMPOSITION RENTS

Are certain Rents reserved and made payable to the Crown, in consequence of Compositions formerly entered into by the Subject with the Crown, either in lieu of Purveyance and Pre-emption, and Cefs, Imprefs and Quarterage of Soldiers, or on the obtaining of new grants of lands, where the titles to such lands had proved defective.

N. B. Purveyance and Pre-emption—was an ancient right enjoyed by the Crown, of buying up, by its Purveyors, provisions and other necessaries at an appraised valuation, without the consent of the owners, and also of forcibly impressing carriages and horses for the King's service, at a settled price.

Cefs, Imprefs and Quarterage—was a charge levied on the Country, for victualling and lodging the Soldiery. But as these branches of the prerogative were found extremely burthensome to the Subject, and not very beneficial to the Crown, a Composition was established in lieu of them, in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and the Rents, reserved in that Composition, make part of the present Composition Rents.

In the same reign, the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, entered into a Composition with the Inhabitants of Connaught, for their possessions in that Province, the whole of which was claimed by the Crown, in right of Heirship to the Earl of Ulster and Connaught.

They surrendered their Estates to the Queen, and accepted new grants of them, subject to a reserved rent of ten shillings *per* Quarter-land, amounting in the whole to £3195 per ann. besides Casual Duties, amounting to £638.

Sir

Sir William Fitzwilliam, who succeeded Sir John Perrot, made a Composition for the Province of Munster, but the value does not appear.

Thus stood the Composition Rents at the accession of King James I. during whose reign, and that of his son Charles I. the most important Compositions were settled.—It must be observed, that by the confusion of titles derived from the first Adventurers, and by the resumption in Henry VII's. reign, of all grants made from Edward I. to that time, together with the frequent forfeitures, almost all the lands of Ireland were become the property of the Crown.—During the times of war and turbulence, as few advances could be made in Agriculture or Improvement, the worth of Lands were little known or attended to; but when Elizabeth had formally crushed rebellion, and peace yielded security, industry began to exercise itself—the value of property was soon learned, and a permanency in it was eagerly desired, numberless applications was made to the Crown for grants of Lands in Ireland, and large sums were offered for the obtaining them.

The rapacity of the Solicitors opened the eyes of the Court. Enquiries were set on foot, and Commissions were issued for the discovery of defective Titles.

This proceeding spread a general alarm, and all those whose property stood on doubtful or impeachable ground, were seized with the terrors of immediate Confiscation.—They therefore endeavoured to compound for their Estates, in the best manner they could, and rather chose to accept new grants, than risk their titles under the old.

Thus many Compositions with additional Rents were made in the reign of King James I. but on the succeeding reign, all the Titles in Clare and Connaught being found defective, the Earl of Strafford thought himself warranted to enforce a second Composition with superadded Rents; by this means the King's Revenue was considerably augmented, the people were finally quieted in their possessions, and a general confidence and security took place.

The value of the Composition Rents appears now to be very small, (not being stated at more than £1000 per annum) the reason of which is, that several of the Lands, subject to Composition Rents, were forfeited in 1641, and became chargeable with Quit Rent, under the Act of Settlement after the Restoration.

The Crown Rents, Composition Rents, and Quit Rents, are, by an English Act of Parliament passed in the 11th and 12th of King William, declared to be unalienable, and therefore stand on the same footing.

LIGHTHOUSE DUTIES

Arise from a Tax of 4*d.* per Ton on all Foreign Ships, trading to and from Ireland, towards the support of the King's Lighthouses,—as these Duties were payable in England to the Crown, at common law, they became payable in Ireland of course.—The amount is very considerable.

CASUAL REVENUE,

So called, because it arises from Casualties, chiefly from Fines and Amerciaments, which in their nature are accidental and uncertain.

This Branch consists of Custodium Rents and Seizures, Fines imposed on offenders and defaulters, Forfeitures of Recognizances, King's Silver, and other profits arising from the King's Courts of Justice.

There are also certain Fines, Seizures and Forfeitures, given by particular Acts of Parliament, which amount to a much larger Sum, than the more ancient part of the Casual Revenue.

Of the Modern part of the HEREDITARY REVENUE,
the first Article the

OLD POUNDAGE.

To know the Principles upon which this Branch was founded, we must look back to the reigns of the first Norman Kings, part of whose Revenue consisted of Prizes and Customs.

Prizes were a right the King had by his Prerogative, of taking to his own Use, and at his own Valuation, as much of all Merchandizes belonging to Merchant Strangers, as he had occasion for, under the name of Prizage.

Customs were fixed, and certain Duties paid on Importation and Exportation, according to the value of the commodities.—Native Merchants paid Custom only, except on the article of Wine, on which they paid Prizage—but Merchant Strangers were prized, till Edward I. remitted them all Prizes whatsoever, in consideration of their paying to him and his heirs, the sum of 2*s.* per Ton, on all Wine imported, called Butlerage, (because paid to the King's Butler) and 3*d.* per Pound on all Merchandize, imported and exported, except on Wool, Skins and Leather, for which they were before subject to Aliens Duty.

Customs is a term supposed to be derived from *Custodiams*, or guards of the goods imported; but whether this was by a guard
of

of the Seas against Pirates, or by Ware-houses on the Shores, the Lawyers are not agreed, nor is it very material: Sufficient it is to know, that Customs were very early paid to the Crown, upon Imports and Exports, and that when Ireland became subject to England, Customs were payable of course in Ireland, and so continued till the subsidy of Poundage was established on the following occasion.

The Fraternity of St. George was erected by Act of Parliament, in the reign of Edward IV. in defence of the English Pale; two hundred Horse and Foot were to be raised and kept up for the service, and a subsidy of Poundage on all Merchandize, imported and exported, (except Hydes and the Goods of Freemen of Dublin and Drogheda) was established for the payment and maintenance of this force; but on misapplication of the Revenue, to private uses, it was enacted in the 10th of Henry VII. that the King should have the Poundage for five years. At the expiration of that term, a new Statute was made, by which 12*d.* in the Pound *ad valorem*, was granted to the King and his Heirs, on all Wares and Merchandize, imported and exported, (Wine and Oil only excepted) and thus an inheritance of this Revenue became vested in the Crown.

The *Old Poundage*, is the first Subsidy which appears from the Statute-books, to have been given in Ireland, except a small one of 13*s.* 4*d.* imposed by the 5th of Edward IV. on all Foreign Vessels coming to Fish on the Irish Coasts.

The Ancient Customs paid in Ireland, previous to the Subsidy of Poundage, arose chiefly from Hydes, Wool and Woolfells; at that time of no great value in the country, and did not produce above £1000 per annum. The whole Revenue, indeed, both certain and casual, did not exceed £10,000 per annum, though the charge of the Kingdom amounted to £11,200, the Old Poundage being blended in the Public Accounts with the Tonnage and Additional Poundage on Exportation, granted by the 14th and 15th of Charles II.

Q U I T R E N T S.

When the Rebellion of 1641 was quelled, the Estates of the Rebels, and indeed of many innocent persons, were seized by the Ruling Powers, and granted, under the Usurpation, to the Officers and Soldiers, who had been employed in the Irish War, as a compensation for their Services, Arrears of Pay, &c.—At the Restoration, the King, who might have resumed all the Forfeitures as belonging to the Crown at Common Law, gave up his right to them, to the persons possessing or claiming them, and accepted the Quit Rents, Excise and Additional Customs, as an equivalent.

The

The Quit Rents are the rents reserved and made payable to the Crown for ever, out of the above-mentioned Forfeitures of 1641, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. By the Acts which were passed in the 14th and 15th, 17th and 18th of Charles II. every Adventurer and Soldier, every innocent Papist, or Person restored to his Estate, was to pay the Crown for ever, the following Rents:—For every English acre in Leinster 3*d.*—in Munster 2½*d.*—in Conaught 1¼*d.*—and in Ulster 1*d.* by the Act of Settlement. But the subsequent Act of Explanation, 2*d.* It was also provided, that in case former Rents were reserved to the Crown, (as Crown Rents or Composition Rents) greater in value than the Rents prescribed by the Act of Settlement, then the former and greater Rents were to be reserved.

These Quit Rents amount to about £50,000 per annum, and, together with the Crown and Composition Rents, produce upwards of £65,000 per annum.

The Quit Rents were much more considerable when first settled, but King Charles II. was persuaded to release or diminish some of them; and there are others which it is now scarcely possible to recover.

E X C I S E

Is an Impost paid on the Retail Sale, or by the first Buyer, Manufacturer, or Consumer of certain Commodities; it is collected by particular Officers appointed by the Crown, under and by virtue of these Laws of Excise.

The name of Excise is not to be found in any of our Law-books, till the middle of last century.

It was first imposed in England, by the authority of the Parliament, during the Civil Wars, as the only method then fit for raising money. King Charles I. was under the necessity of recurring to the same resource, and levied the Excise, after the example of Parliament: being thus introduced into England, it was adopted in Ireland, and collected there in the same manner.

At the Restoration, before an Act of Parliament could be passed, the Lords and Commons in Ireland made an ordinance or declaration, for the continuance of the Customs and Excise as formerly paid, till the 1st of September 1661. The Commons then prepared heads of a bill, for establishing the Excise or New Impost, (as it is called) intending it for a constant Revenue to the King, by way of Compensation for the Court of Ward and Liveries, which, by a clause in the bill, was to be suppressed.

Charles II. who had consented to give up that Court in England, did not immediately come into the same measure in Ireland; it was therefore contrived, that the clause for establishing the Court of Wards and Liveries, should not stand part of the
Excise-

Excise-bill, but make a separate bill by itself, in order that the objections to the one might not postpone the passing of the other.—Both bills were transmitted to England together—the Excise-bill soon returned, but without its companion: but lest the refusal of the one should occasion the loss of the other, directions were given to the Chief Governor, not to give the Royal Assent to the Act of Settlement, till the Act of Excise, the Act of Customs, and the other Money Bills were ready for the Royal Assent also; accordingly, they all passed in one day, and are to be considered as the purchase paid by Ireland for the Act of Settlement, by which Act the King gave up his Title to the Forfeitures, and the Landholders were quieted and secured in their property.

This circumstance is alluded to in the recital of the Act of Excise, which is granted in consideration of the gracious inclinations and intentions of his Majesty, for the good, quiet, and repose of this realm of Ireland, and the great and certain charge which for this cause will exhaust and diminish his Majesty's Treasure, without some timely provision be made for remedy thereof, and also for the Pay of the Army.

The Excise imposed by this Act consists of two parts, viz. the Inland Excise and the Imported Excise.—Under the first head, all Ale and Beer of above Six Shillings per Barrel price, brewed in Ireland, by the Common Brewer or his Vessels, is to pay an Excise of 2s. 6d. per Barrel, or lesser Quantity, and all Ale or Beer, of or under Six Shillings price, brewed in the same manner, is to pay an Excise of 6d. per Barrel.

All Aquavitæ or Strong-waters, made or distilled either of Domestic or Foreign Materials, and intended for sale, are to pay an Excise of 4d. per Gallon.

Under the Head of IMPORTED EXCISE

Drugs imported pay 2s. in the Pound; Raw-hemp, Flax, Tow, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Wax, Cable, Cable-yarn and Cordage, pay 6d. in the Pound; but all sorts of Wines, Tobacco, Silks, Salts and other Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, of what kind soever, pay 12d. in the Pound.—The above Import Excise, to be paid according to the New-book of Rates, annexed to the Excise Act.

All other sort of Goods, Wares, Commodities and Merchandizes whatsoever, omitted or not specified in said Book of Rates, except Jewels, Bullion, Corn, Victuals, Arms and Ammunition, are to pay according to the New-book of Rates, annexed to the Act of Customs; and if not rated there, are to pay according to the valuation of the Sub-commissioners or principal Officer of the Port where the Goods are entered.

This

This Duty of Import Excise is to be paid by the first buyer from the Merchant on Importation, and not by a Merchant Importer himself, unless he happens to be a Shop-keeper, Retailer, or one who imports for his own consumption, in which case only the Excise is to be paid on the Importation and Landing.

CUSTOMS OR TONNAGE AND NEW POUNDAGE.

We have seen under the Article of Old Poundage, that the Statute of the 15th of Henry VII. granted to the King and his Heirs £5 per cent. or 12d. in the Pound in the exported (Wine and Oil excepted); but as this Statute has omitted to ascertain the Rate, according to which the Duty was to be paid, the Lord Deputy and Council, or those instructed with the Management of the Revenue, took upon themselves to fix a Valuation by their own Authority.—This Valuation was revised in Lord Faulkland's Government, and considerably raised by Lord Strafford, but being made without the sanction of Parliament, a new Book of Rates was thought necessary. A new one was, therefore, framed in the 14th and 15th of Charles II. according to which, all goods imported and exported were to pay the old subsidy of Poundage, from the 1st of December 1661.—And it is further enacted by the same Statute, that for the better guarding and defending the Seas, and defraying the necessary Expenses thereof, and for the augmentation and increase of his Majesty's Revenue, the King, his Heirs and Successors, shall have one subsidy more of Poundage, at the rate of 5 per cent. on the Native Commodities and Manufactures of Ireland, exported by Aliens and Strangers, according to the value ascertained in the Book of Rates, and also a subsidy of Tonnage on Wines and Oils imported—This is called the *Act of Customs*, or Tonnage and Poundage, to which are added certain Rules and Directions, which have the same force as the rest of the Statute.

It is proper here to observe, that since the passing these Acts of Excise and Custom, many regulations have been made both with regard to the Duties and the Rates.

HEARTH MONEY.

After the Act of Customs and Excise had passed, it appeared that the Revenue fell short of the computation, by no less a sum than £42,000; the Commons, therefore, seized this opportunity of renewing their application for the abolition of the Courts of Wards and Liveries, and the other Military Tenures, and proposed the Hearth Money, as a full recompence and satisfaction to the Crown in lieu of them.—The King accepted their offer, and passed the Bill, by which every House in the Kingdom (except Houses

Houses inhabited by persons living on Alms, and Houses under the yearly value of 8s.) became charged with 2s. annually, for every Fire-^{place} hearth and Stove within such House, payable to the King, his Heirs and Successors.

It must be observed, that this particular Revenue is restrained by the Act, from any Alienation or Incumbrance of Gift, Grant or Pension, which seems a very singular Clause, when it is considered that the Act itself recites, that the Hearth Money was granted as a compensation to the King, for suppressing the Court of Wards and other Feudal tenures, *which were his private property.*

There is another thing also which is worthy of remark: the Landholders were the only people who complained of the Court of Wards; they only, therefore, should have paid the price for being released from it; but instead of doing so, they shifted it from themselves, and established the Revenue of Hearth Money, the burthen and hardships of which falls principally on the poorest and most wretched of the people.

N. B. From the above statement we see, that in the reign of Charles II. the Hearth Money was computed at £42,000 a year. Now it is well known, that the population of Ireland is more than doubled since that time, and of course the net produce of the Hearth Money should, at this day, be more than double upon that score alone. And if the wealth of Ireland be quadrupled since that time, as it is supposed to be, it may be argued, that Houses with more Hearths than *one* are increased in nearly the same proportion; and if, as every body sees, Houses with more Hearths than *two* are more increased than in that proportion within the last forty or fifty years, it will be no hardy hypothesis to suppose that the number of Hearths in Ireland at this day, is at least threefold of what it was soon after the Restoration; yet from the last Public Account *which I have seen*, viz. from Lady-day 1786, to Lady-day 1787, it appears that the Hearth Money amounted only to £63,425 5s. 9d. which instead of being treble is but about one-third more than it was in the reign of Charles II.

A L E L I C E N C E S.

The many inconveniencies arising from the number of Ale-houses kept by disorderly persons, occasioned the passing of the Ale-licence act, in the 14th and 15th Charles II. by which it is provided, that no person whatsoever, shall sell Beer or Ale by retail, but such as shall be licenced, who shall pay 20s. per. ann. as long as he shall be so licenced.—And every lincenced person shall enter into security by recognizance, conditioned to observe the assize of Bread, Beer and Ale, and to sell the same with other provisions

to

to travellers at reasonable rates ; to keep two beds at least for the accommodation of strangers, and not to permit drunkenness or unlawful gambling. This regulation it was thought would reduce the number of disorderly tipling houses, prevent the clandestine selling of Ale, enable the Excise Officer to collect the Inland Excise with greater ease and safety, and thus improve and augment the King's Revenue.

The Crown is restrained by an express clause in the act from farming this revenue, or charging it with any grant, gift or pension.

WINE AND STRONG WATER LICENCES.

For the better regulation of the sale of Wines and Strong Waters by retail, and for preventing abuses in the state thereof, it is enacted by the 17th and 18th of Charles II. that no person shall sell Wines or Strong Waters by retail without licence, for which licence every retailer of Wines in the county or city of Dublin, must pay a sum not exceeding £.40 yearly, and not less than 40s. and every retailer of Wines in other places must pay a sum not exceeding £.20 yearly, nor less than 40s. also any person retailing Strong Waters, in the county or city of Dublin must pay a sum not exceeding £.10 yearly, nor less than 10s. and every person retailing Strong Waters in other places, must pay a sum not exceeding £.5 yearly, nor less than 10s. shillings.

ALNAGE DUTIES.

These had been introduced into Ireland, in the reign of King James I. but were little attended to till after the restoration, when they were re-established by the 17th and 18th of Charles II. for regulating and managing the trade and mystery of making woollen cloth, and for the better ascertaining the length, breadth and weight of all cloths to be made in Ireland.

An Alnage office was erected, the principal officer of which was called the King's Alnager, and was appointed from time to time, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, for years or for life as the King thought fit.

The Alnager, by himself or Deputy, is to measure, weigh, and search, all woollen cloths, both old and new drapery, made in Ireland, before they were offered to sale or embarked, to see whether they are of the length, breadth and weight, prescribed by the act.

If the Alnager finds the Cloths to be merchantable goods, and lawfully made, he is to seal them with a seal, or mark, to be allowed.

allowed by the Treasurer or Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and he is to take or receive to his Majesty's use 4d. for every yard of Broad Cloth, by way of subsidy, and a halfpenny as his own fee for sealing, and so rateably for all old drapery.

Very soon after the above-mentioned act was passed, the Crown alienated the whole Revenue arising from the Alnage for 61 years, at a rent of £.10 per ann. and by successive alienations it has been continued in private hands ever since, without even the small rent of £.10 being accounted for, either to the Crown or to Parliament.—Two circumstances are worthy notice, relative to the Alnage ; one is that it is the only part of the Hereditary Revenue, where the whole duty came to the Crown, without deduction ; the officers fees being always paid by the subject :—The other is, that the alienation (undisputed for above one hundred years past) proves incontestably the dominion of the Crown over all parts of the Hereditary Revenue, which are not specially guarded against alienation by positive Act of Parliament.

The amount of the Alnage duties is only known to the grantee, who carefully keeps the secret.

OF THE ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

After the Revolution the Hereditary Revenue being found insufficient to support the National Expence, an augmentation of Revenue became necessary. On this occasion the Public Accounts were for the first time called for by the House of Commons, in order to ascertain the deficiency, and, as the motion expressed it, that “ that it might be the better known what supplies were necessary to be given.”

Accordingly, by the 4th of William and Mary, an additional Excise was imposed on all Beer and Strong Waters, and by the 7th of King William an additional Custom was laid on Tobacco, and other imported commodities. In the subsequent reigns these duties have been continued with such alterations and additions as have been found expedient ; in the year 1695 and 1697 a Poll Tax and Land Tax were imposed in Ireland, but have never since been revived.

The present additional duties which are subject to no deductions whatsoever, except for drawbacks, together with the Hereditary Revenue, make one aggregate fund, out of which the Civil and Military establishments, King's letters, Parliamentary grants, and all other public charges are paid.

N. B. The Stamp Duties were imposed, and the Imprest Office established, during the administration of the Earl of Harcourt : by whom also was introduced the Tontine, upon terms very disadvantageous.

OF THE APPROPRIATED DUTIES.

These are certain duties especially appropriated by Parliament at the time of granting them, and subject to no other application than that for which they are given. Of these duties separate and distinct accounts are ordered to be kept, and separate receipts are constantly taken, when paid into the Treasury; from whence they are issued, without any warrant of Government, according to the directions of the several acts of Parliament which appropriate them.

They now consist of the following branches, viz.

1st. The LOAN DUTIES.

2dly. The SMALLER APPROPRIATED duties for the encouragement of the Linen Manufacture, of Tillage and Inland Navigation, of Protestant Charter Schools, of the Lagan Navigation, and of the North West fishing.

The LOAN DUTIES are granted by Parliament, for payment of the interest of the several sums from time to time, lent and advanced to the public; pursuant either to the resolutions of the House of Commons or particular Acts of Parliament. The redundance, after payment of the Interest, goes towards the discharge of the principal sums, in such manner as is prescribed by the several Acts made from session to session, for continuing these duties.

The present loan duties consist of duties on Wine, Vinegar, Hops, Earthen, Lacquered and Japan ware, foreign silk manufactures, the Absentee Tax, Coffee, Strong Waters, Cyder, four-wheel Machines, &c. and produce about £.50,000 per ann. It must be allowed that the loan duties are never granted for more than two years, so that if by any accident the loan bill was to miscarry (a thing very possible) the public creditors would remain without any security; as no other part of the Revenue is responsible for the debt.

OF THE LESSER APPROPRIATED DUTIES.

These duties, although the Crown has no Interest in them, are collected by the officers of the Crown, and for convenience are paid into the King's Treasury, from whence they are issued to the orders and on the Receipts of the corporations or private persons respectively interested therein, according to the Acts of Parliament which direct the appropriations.

THE LINEN DUTIES

Are certain small Duties on Foreign Linen, Callicoes, Coffee, Chocolate, untanned Hydes exported, together with £10,000
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per ann. part of the Tea Duties, which in the whole amount to about £12,000 per ann. are appropriated to the Encouragement of the Linen Manufacture, under the direction of the Linen Board.

THE TILLAGE DUTIES

Are certain small Duties on Cards, Dice, Plate, Coaches, &c. appropriated to the purpose of encouraging Tillage and Inland Navigation, under the direction of the Commissioners of the Tillage Act; they were first granted in the beginning of the late King's reign, and were renewed for seven years, in the year 1772, their amount is about £10,000 per ann.

PROTESTANT CHARTER-SCHOOLS.

A Tax on the Licences of Hawkers, and Pedlars—which produces about £2000 per ann. and is appropriated in aid of the Fund for educating the Children of Papists in the Protestant Religion.

LAGAN NAVIGATION DUTIES

Are a small additional Excise on Beer, Ale and Spirits, over and above his Majesty's Duties, within a particular district, the inhabitants of which are to reap the principal benefit from the Navigation of the River Lagan; they produce about £800 per annum.

NORTH WEST FISHERY.

A Duty of 1s. per Barrel on all Foreign Herrings imported, was laid on in 1771, to be applied by the Dublin Society, to the Encouragement of the North-west Fishery; the amount is near £2000 per ann.

N. B. The reader should never forget, that these several amounts are now annually fluctuating.

F I N I S.



Campbell, Thomas

Strictures on the ecclesiastical and literary history of Ireland

London 1790

H.eccl. 169 m

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